# California Historical Society *Quarterly*

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SAN FRANCISCO BAY INDIANS AND CANOE

California Historical Society
*Quarterly*

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JUNE 1935

# SAN FRANCISCO IN 1776 AND IN 1835

*The One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Anniversary of the Coming of the Spaniards to San Francisco and the Centennial of the Settlement of Yerba Buena*

ELSEWHERE in this number of the *Quarterly* is to be found Fray Francisco Palóu's vivid description of the beginnings of the permanent settlement of the northern tip of the San Francisco peninsula in June, 1776. How José Joaquin Moraga led his soldiers and colonists, whom Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza had brought from Horcasitas in Old Mexico, from Monterey for that purpose, is simply told by Junípero Serra's lifelong friend and biographer, the founder of our own Mission of San Francisco de Asis of which he was the resident missionary from 1776 until 1785. Palóu was one of the party who trudged through the then wilderness of the Santa Clara valley at Moraga's side, who was present at the ceremonies initiating both the Presidio and the Mission, and who, in later years at the latter, in his spare time, completed his *Noticias de la Nueva California* and wrote his Life of Serra, thereby becoming both California's and San Francisco's first author.

Palóu describes the formal dedication of the Presidio on September 17, 1776, and that of the Mission on October 9, 1776, at both of which functions he was a leading figure. He made the first entry in the Books of the Mission of San Francisco de Asis on August 10, 1776, noting therein the birth of Francisco Soto, the first white child born in the new settlement, the son of Ignacio Soto who was one of Moraga's soldiers; and he closed his long pastorate by holding funeral services for his friend and fellow pioneer, Lieutenant José Joaquin Moraga, who died July 13, 1785. The record of this event is almost the last entry in Palóu's hand in the Mission books. Immediately thereafter he

departed for Mexico City to become the Guardian of the College of San Fernando *de propaganda fide,* the institution that had dispatched Serra and his brother Franciscans to California.

The date of the colonists' arrival is given by Palóu as June 27, 1776. Fifty-nine years later—June 25, 1835—or a hundred years ago, another settlement was made within the confines of the present City and County of San Francisco which had results farther-reaching than the earlier Spanish occupation.

The story of William A. Richardson's arrival on the shores of Yerba Buena cove from the Mission of San Gabriel with the mandate of Governor Figueroa to lay out a town has often been told. How he raised his makeshift tent, made from an old sail supported by posts, on the land which is today embraced by the meeting of Clay street and Grant avenue (the northwest corner) is familiar to all San Franciscans. That before December, 1835, he replaced his temporary shelter by a rough board house was noted by Richard Henry Dana, Jr., in his classic tale, *Two Years before the Mast.* How he welcomed Jacob Primer Leese when that pioneer merchant came a year after Richardson's arrival is a matter of history which Bancroft, Eldredge, Hittell and many others have described. And how the town of Yerba Buena grew until it outstripped both the Presidio and Mission settlements and finally, with its name changed, by the fiat of the first American alcalde, Washington A. Bartlett, to "San Francisco," how it absorbed the older beginnings are matters of common knowledge.

These two foundings of San Francisco, as well as the formal dedications of the Mission and Presidio, have given rise to much confusion in the minds of many. But it must be remembered that the ceremonies at which Padre Palóu assisted were military and churchly. There was no thought of a civil community at that early date. It was not until December, 1834, that a start was made to organize the descendants of Moraga's soldiery into a self-governing pueblo. This occurred at the Presidio and there the first election for alcalde, *regidores* and *sindico* was held in January, 1835. All this was done at the instance of that same Governor Figueroa who ordered Richardson to lay out a town at Yerba Buena cove, and to become its first settler which he did, June 25, 1835.

Richardson's town soon attracted other settlers. In 1838 we find five men designated by the then alcalde, Francisco de Haro, as merchants dwelling and doing business in what De Haro is pleased to call the Pueblo de Yerba Buena.

The rise in population of the Yerba Buena settlement soon brought about the moving of the civil authorities to its location. Mission and Presidio languished. The center of life and commerce was at Yerba Buena cove, which with the impetus of American occupation in July, 1846, and the upheaval of the Gold Rush in 1848 and 1849, became the metropolis of California. With the passing of time, both the Presidio and the Mission were included within the boundaries of the fast growing city, so that today we may rightfully claim either June 27, 1776, or June 25, 1835, as founding dates. But without Richardson's injection of new blood, and the assistance of those who came imme-

diately after him, it is safe to say that no commercial center would have grown from the wreck of the Spanish Presidio or Mission whose usefulness had passed by the end of the year 1834. Soon after that date, Vallejo moved the Presidio garrison to his new stronghold at Sonoma; and the secularization of the California Missions accounted for the decay of the Mission of San Francisco de Asis.

To Padre Palóu and Lieutenant Moraga, the Spaniards, and to Richardson, the Anglo-Saxon, this number of the *Quarterly* is dedicated. Palóu's and Moraga's settlement was of a non-civil character. Richardson's was essentially civil. The founding of 1776 had no connection with the later town at Yerba Buena cove, except that the latter in time grew big enough to include the territorial limits of the former. Palóu's description of the earlier beginnings, therefore, is a page from a book of the dim past. The biographies of Richardson, Leese and others mentioned in Alcalde de Haro's letter of October 1838, which appears in this issue of the *Quarterly*, reproduced in facsimile, give a picture, on the other hand, of the pioneers of Yerba Buena whose efforts have culminated in the San Francisco of today.

# THE FOUNDING OF THE PRESIDIO AND MISSION OF OUR FATHER SAINT FRANCIS

*Being Chapter 45 of Fray Francisco Palóu's Life of the Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra, Written at the Mission of San Francisco de Asis, and Newly Translated from the Original Edition of 1787 by George Ezra Dane**

WHEN THE COMMANDER [Don Fernando de Rivera] received Señor Anza's letter, he sent orders from San Diego for Lieutenant [José Joaquin] Moraga to take all the people who had come from Sonora and to proceed toward the founding of the Presidio at this Port of our Father St. Francis. Lieutenant Moraga immediately made this known to all, so that they might be ready to leave on the 17th of June. A few days after the order was published the two packet-boats came into the Port of Monterey with provisions, equipment and instructions. The Captain of *El Principe* had orders to leave part of his cargo and to go down to San Diego with the rest; and the Venerable Prelate [Junípero Serra] determined to avail himself of this opportunity to go there also, as has already been related in Chapter 42.

The Commander and Captain of the packet-boat *San Carlos*, Naval Lieutenant Don Fernando de Quirós, had orders likewise to leave at Monterey what was consigned to that Presidio, and to go up to this Port with the remaining cargo, to assist in the founding. The Venerable Father President [Serra] decided that we two missionaries for the Mission of Our Father St. Francis [Fray Francisco Palóu and Fray Pedro Benito Cambon] should accompany the land expedition, for although Commander Rivera had not sent orders for the founding of the Missions, because the twelve soldiers intended as guard for the Missions were still at San Diego, still the delay could not be long, and once arrived at the Port with our equipment, we might proceed with the work as prudence should direct. In view of this decision, we loaded in the packet-boat *San Carlos* everything belonging to this Mission of our Father, leaving only the vestments and portable altar and the barest necessities for the journey of forty-two leagues, so that our expedition should not be too encumbered with baggage.

The said land expedition set forth from the Presidio of Monterey on the

*For consultation as to the proper rendition of terms having to do with Roman Catholic ritual the translator is indebted to Father Peter M. Dunne, of the University of San Francisco.

appointed day, the 17th of June of that year of '76. It was composed of the said Lieutenant Commander Don Joseph Moraga, a sergeant and sixteen leather-jacket soldiers, all married and with large families, seven colonists likewise married and with families, some workmen and servants of the foregoing, herdsmen and muleteers driving the Presidio cattle and the pack train with provisions and utensils necessary for the journey, for the rest of the goods were in the packet-boat that was about to sail. As for the Mission company: it mustered the two missionaries aforesaid, two servant boys for the Mission, two Indian neophytes from Old California, and another from the Mission San Carlos, to see if he might act as interpreter; but since the language was found to be quite distinct, he only served to tend the cows that were brought along to make a start toward larger herds. All the said expedition set out for this port.

Four days before we reached the Port, in the great plain called San Bernardino [the Santa Clara Valley], while the expedition was strung out at length, we descried in the distance a herd of large animals that looked like cattle, but we could not imagine where they belonged or from whence they had come. Some soldiers then went out to round them up, so that they should not stampede our tame cattle, but as the soldiers approached, they perceived that this was not a herd of cattle, but deer, or a species of deer, as large as the largest ox or bull, with horns similar in shape to those of the deer, but so large that they measured sixteen palms from tip to tip. The soldiers succeeded in killing three of them which they carried on mules to the next watering place, a half league or so away. They wanted to bring one in whole, but it was too much for a single mule to carry all the way, and it was only by shifting it from one mule to another that they managed to arrive with it and to give us the pleasure of seeing that monstrous animal with its great horns. I had the curiosity to measure them, and found that their width was indeed the four varas [11 feet] aforesaid. I noticed that beneath each eye there was an orifice, so that it seemed to have four eyes, but the two lower ones were empty and apparently served as tearducts. The soldiers who had pursued them told me that they always run in the direction of the wind. Doubtless this is because the great weight of their enormous horns and the way in which they spread out fan-like with their many points would either upset them or slow them down if they were to run against the wind. As it was,their speed was so great that of fifteen that were sighted, the soldiers with their good horses were able to catch only three. The meat was dried and furnished food for the people for several days, and lasted many of them to the Port. The meat is very savory and healthful and so fat that a sack and a half of lard and suet was obtained from the one that was brought in whole. These animals [elk] are called *ciervos* in order to differentiate them from the ordinary Spanish variety of deer, here called *venados,* which also exist in abundance and of large size in the vicinity of this Port, and the color of some of them approaches yellow or sorrel.

In the said plains of San Bernardino, about half way between the ports of Monterey and San Francisco, as also in the plains nearer to Monterey, there is another species of deer about the size of a three-year-old sheep. They are similar in appearance to the deer, except that they have short horns and also short legs like the sheep. They live in the plains where they go in herds of 100, 200, or more. They run all together over the plains so fast that they seem to fly. Whenever they see travelers, the herds always cross in front of them. The hunters manage to secure some by the plan of dividing the best mounted men and stationing them along the course where they wait while others start the herd and they frighten and drive them by turns, thus wearing them down without tiring the horses. As soon as they see one of them lagging behind, which is a sign of fatigue, they ride out, and when they succeed in cutting him off from the herd they are able to secure him. This they can do also when they get them into the hills, for unlike the deer, they are swift only in the level country. These animals [antelope] are called *berrendos* [piebalds] and there are many of them also in the southern Missions wherever the country is level; but the great *ciervos* have only been found from Monterey upward. This [fine hunting] greatly pleased the soldiers and the colonists of the expedition. Having rested for a day at the stopping place named for the Wounds of our Father St. Francis [Llagas Creek between Morgan Hill and San Martin], the expedition went on towards this Port.

On the 27th day of June we arrived in the vicinity of this Port and a camp was made composed of 15 bell-shaped tents on the shore of a large lagoon that empties into the arm of the bay which extends 15 leagues to the southeast. The purpose was to await here the arrival of the ship so that the site for the Presidio might be selected with reference to the best anchorage. As soon as the expedition halted, many peaceful Indians approached. They expressed pleasure at our arrival, and especially after they had experienced the friendliness with which we treated them and the little presents of glass beads and food that we gave to attract them. They visited us frequently, bringing such little presents as their poverty afforded—nothing more than mussels and wild grass seeds.

The day after the arrival a shelter of branches (*enramada*) was built and an altar set up in it, and there I said the first mass on the day of the Holy Apostles Sts. Peter and Paul and my fellow priest immediately said another and we continued saying mass every day of the whole month that we remained at that place. During that time, as the ship did not appear, we occupied ourselves in exploring the country and visiting the villages (*rancherías*) of the Indians, who all received us peacefully and expressed themselves glad of our arrival in their country. They conducted themselves politely, returning our visit—entire villages coming with their little presents for which we took occasion to compensate them with better things, of which they afterward became very fond.

By the survey that we made we found that we were on a peninsula, with no way to go in or out except between the south and the southeast, for on all other sides we were bounded by the sea. To the east of us is the arm of the sea that extends to the southeast, but as this is only three leagues wide, the land and mountain range on the other side can be seen very clearly. To the north is the other arm of the sea, and to the west and somewhat to the south the Great or Pacific Ocean and the roadstead of the Farallones, where the mouth and entrance of this Port is.

In view of the ship's delay, it was decided to begin cutting wood for the construction of the Presidio near the entrance of the Port, and for the Mission buildings in this same site of the lagoon on the level ground that lies to the westward. As we had been here a month and neither the ship nor the soldiers that Commander Rivera was to send with orders had arrived, the Lieutenant decided to leave us six soldiers as guard for this chosen Mission site and he moved with all the rest of the people near to the entrance of the Port, so that they might work while awaiting the arrival of the ship.

It entered the Port on the 18th August, its delay having been due to contrary winds which had forced it down to 32 degrees [north] latitude. With the aid of the sailors whom the master of the ship divided between the Presidio and the Mission, two structures were built at the Presidio, one for a chapel and another for a storeroom for provisions, and at the Mission one likewise for a chapel and another divided into living quarters for the fathers. The soldiers made their own houses at the Presidio and at the Mission as well, all of wood with roofs of tule thatch.

Formal possession of the Presidio was taken on the 17th of September, the day of the Impression of the Wounds of our Holy Father St. Francis, patron of the Presidio and of the Port. I sang the first mass that day, after blessing, venerating and raising the Holy Cross. When the service ended with the *Te Deum*, the *Señores* went through the ceremony of taking possession in the name of our Sovereign, amid much firing of cannon from ship and shore, and shooting of muskets by the troops.

Formal taking possession of the Mission was put off, waiting for the arrival of Commander Rivera's order, and meanwhile the commanders of the new Presidio and of the ship decided to send an expedition by sea to explore the large arm of water that extends northward from the entrance of the Port, and another [expedition] by land to explore the great river of Our Father St. Francis [the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers] which empties into the roadstead of the Farallones through the mouth of the Port. They set out then for the exploration, agreed as to the place where they might meet and from which the ship's launch might go up the great river, while the land expedition should follow it along the bank.

In the launch went the captain of the ship, Naval Lieutenant Don Fernando Quirós, with his first pilot, Don Joseph Cañizares; and my fellow father, Fray

Benito Cambon went with them to treat and communicate with the Indians. They sailed northward until they reached a point of land where the two expeditions were to meet and proceed with the exploration together. On the same day the Commander of the Presidio set out with the troops that he deemed necessary, and they marched southward, keeping in view of the large inlet or arm of the sea until they came to the end of it, a distance of about fifteen leagues. There they discovered a river of moderate size but with a considerable flow of water, and they named it for Our Lady of Guadalupe. Following up it for some distance to the southwest, they found a spot where it could be forded on horseback. When they were on the other side they saw that they would have to travel back again the whole fifteen leagues in order to reach a point opposite the Port, and from there they would still have to follow the coast on to the point stipulated as the place for meeting the sea expedition. Finding an opening between the hills, they decided to go through this pass as a short-cut to the meeting place, but it turned out to be quite the contrary, as it prevented either from seeing the other during the whole journey and the land expedition came out into a large valley far from the shore and much farther still from the agreed place of meeting.

Considering that if they were to go in search of the ship the time of meeting would pass before they could get there, [the Commander] determined to go into that broad plain [the San Joaquin valley], through which he noted that five rivers flowed, as he could tell by the lines of trees that he saw afar off, for he judged that these must indicate rivers which, winding in from different directions, all flowed in the direction of the Port. They went to the nearest of these lines of trees, and found that there was indeed a great river, bordered with large trees of different kinds. They followed up its bank, not daring to cross because of the size of the stream. They found along the banks several villages of Indians who all seemed peaceful and with whom they spoke, presenting them with gifts of trinkets, which they repaid with fish, and some of them accompanied the expedition up the river.

Having given these Indians to understand, by signs, that they wished to cross the river, they were told that at this point it was impossible—that they would have to try farther up. Thus they did, and they managed to cross it, though with great trouble and only by means of a ford shown them by the Indians who crossed with them. They traveled on over this broad plain which was unbroken by any hill and extended in all directions to the horizon where the sun rose and set as on the high seas. The land was uninhabited by Indians except along the river beds where alone they find water and wood as well as shelter from the excessive heat of those immense plains, fish, which abound in the rivers, and hunting for deer, of which there are so many that they seem like herds of cattle grazing near the river. Not only is the grass greener there, and water close at hand, but the deer also have the protection (when they find themselves pursued) of being able to jump into the river and swim to the

other side, although the Indians have no lack of tricks for catching them, and live for most of the year on this meat.

Finding it impractical to go on with the exploration of the other rivers or of this one which he crossed to see from whence it came, the Commander was satisfied with what he had seen and returned to this Presidio where he reported to us all that I have told above, and said that it seemed to him the river must come from the great Tulares and from the other bodies of water that have been found to the eastward, back of the Missions of San Antonio and San Luis.

The sea expedition sailed directly to the point where they were to meet the land expedition, but after waiting long past the agreed time without any sign of it, they explored the shore and treated with the Indians who lived in the villages and among the tule marshes, all of whom were friendly and exchanged their presents of fish for ours of trinkets and biscuit. They sailed about the large round bay [San Pablo], which is about ten leagues wide and is frequented by young whales. They reached the mouth of the great river which is a quarter of a league in width, and they found nearby a large port [Suisun Bay] which they named for the Assumption of Our Lady, and which is quite as splendid and as sheltered as that of San Diego. They could see nearby the high mountains of Our Father St. Francis [Mount Diablo and the Coast Range], and judging by the latitude they had reached by sailing northward nearly all the way, it appeared to them that the range must terminate at Cape Mendocino.

In their survey of the western shore they found several small inlets, and among them a very wide one [Petaluma creek?] that extended inland farther than they could see. They began to suspect that it might connect with the Great or Pacific Ocean through the Port of Bodega, and hence that the whole of Point Reyes might be an island. They commenced to explore this large inlet which they named for Our Lady of Mercy. After sailing up it to the westward for a whole day and a night they finally reached its end and were convinced that all this hidden inland sea has no communication with the Pacific except by the mouth where the Fort and Presidio are. This mouth or entrance is not over half a league wide and one league long, with strong tidal currents that draw the sea in toward the east and empty out to the west into the roadstead of the Farallones. These islands lie west of the Port's mouth, which is in 37° 56′ north latitude. From Point Reyes, which bounds the said roadstead of the Farallones, to the entrance of the Port there are good anchorages where vessels may wait to go in on the tide. It has been found to be the same on the south side, where Mussel Point [Punta de Almejas, now Point San Pedro] forms the opposite arm of the roadstead to Point Reyes, though it does not extend out as far as the latter. At the said Mussel Point and at the entrance to the Port there are some large sand dunes which look from the sea like high hills, and at the foot of these there are also good anchorages, for ships have anchored there, and frigates have entered the Port between the two groups of the Farallones, and between the northern group and Point Reyes, which is about eight leagues distant from the entrance to the Port.

After completing the survey, the launch returned to the Port, and the two commanders exchanged their reports of all that they had seen and observed, so that an account might be given to His Excellency. As it was then time for the ship to return to San Blas, and the orders of Commander Rivera for the founding of the Mission of Our Father St. Francis had not arrived, they resolved nevertheless that formal possession should be taken and the Mission started, which was done on the 9th of October.

The site was first blessed, the Holy Cross was raised and the image of Our Father St. Francis was carried in procession on a platform and afterward placed on an altar. I then sang the first mass and preached on Our Holy Father as the Patron of the Mission, the founding of which all the people of the Presidio, the ship and the Mission attended, firing a salute at each stage of the service.

The Indians saw none of the services, for toward the middle of August they had left this peninsula and gone on tule rafts, some to the uninhabited islands in the Port, others to the other side of the strait. This sudden move was caused by a surprise attack made upon them by their greatest enemies, the Salson nation. These latter live some six leagues to the southeast near the arm of the sea. Setting fire to the villages, they killed and wounded many, and we could not help them for we knew nothing about it until they left for the other shore, and though we did all that we could to hold them, we were unable to succeed.

This departure of the natives delayed the work of conversion, for they did not put in an appearance again until the last of March of the year '77, as little by little they began to lose the fear of their enemies and to gain confidence in us. Thus they began to frequent the Mission, attracted by trinkets and presents of food, and the first baptisms were performed on St. John the Baptist's day of that year '77, and gradually they were converted and the number of Christians increased so that the Venerable Father President [Junípero Serra] before he died saw 394 baptized, and the teaching of the catechism still goes on.

The natives of this place and of the Port are somewhat swarthy and sunburnt, while those from the other side of the bay (some of whom have moved near to the Mission and have been baptized) are of lighter complexion and stouter. All of them, men and women, have the custom of cutting their hair frequently, especially when some relative dies or when they suffer some affliction, and in such cases they put handfuls of ashes on their heads, their faces, and other parts of their bodies, as almost all the conquered races do. It is not the same as to the cutting of the hair, however, for those of the southern settlements seem to be vain of it, both men and women, and the latter make large, well-combed braids of it when it is long enough, and the men of theirs make a sort of turban that serves them in lieu of a purse to carry on their heads the beads and other baubles that are given them.

In none of the Missions along the whole extent of two hundred leagues from this Mission to that of San Diego has any idolatry been found among the

MISSION OF SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS

Drawn in 1826 by William Smyth, Admiralty Mate, of the Beechey Expedition.
This view appeared originally in Forbes's *History of California*, 1839; redrawn it served as

Indians, but only a simple negative unbelief, so that they have not the slightest difficulty in believing any of the mysteries. They have been found to have only a few superstitions and empty ceremonies and among the old men a few tellers of tall tales who claim to cause rain, make the acorns grow, bring the whales, the fish, etc. But they are easily exposed and the Indians themselves convinced that they are imposters who say what they do only to get the presents that are given them. Whenever they fall sick they attribute it to the baleful influence of some enemy, and they insist on burning all who die unconverted, differing in this from the southern Indians who bury their dead, many of the villages, principally those of the Santa Barbara Channel, having their cemeteries nearby for the purpose.

The Indians of this Port live on the seeds of the wild grasses which it falls to the lot of the women to gather when they are in season. These they grind and make flour for their porridge (*atole*). Among the seeds they gather is a black variety and from its flour they make a sort of dumpling, ball-shaped and the size of an orange, which are very rich and savory, like toasted almonds. They also derive sustenance from fish of many kinds, all very healthful, that they catch on the coasts of both [inland and outer] seas, and from the various mussels and other shellfish that always abound. They hunt deer, rabbits, geese, ducks, quail and thrush. When a whale chances to strand on the shore they always make the most of it and celebrate the occasion with a great feast, for they are extremely fond of whale meat, which is all fat and blubber. They cut it in strips, roast it underground and hang it in the trees, and when they want to eat cut off a piece and eat it together with their other foods. They do likewise with the sea-lion, of which they are no less fond than of the whale, for it also is all fat.

They have acorns, too, that they grind and make into their porridge or balls. In the nearby mountains and ravines there are also hazelnuts such as we have in Spain, and on the sand-hills and dunes many strawberries are found, larger than the Spanish variety. These ripen in May and June, as do the wild blackberries. In all the fields and hillsides there is also an abundance of wild onion or soap-root (*amole*), the size of our onion, with a long, round head. Batches of these are covered with earth, a fire is kept burning over them three or four days and when they are well done they are taken out and eaten, and are as sweet and tasty as conserves. Another variety of this plant is not eaten, for it is not sweet, but it serves as soap, making a lather and taking out spots the same as soap of Castile.

The Indians have little need of this, however, as they have no other clothing than that provided by nature. Thus they go about like so many Adamites, without the least blush of shame (that is, the men), and to protect themselves from the cold that prevails the year round at this Mission, especially in the mornings, they smear themselves with mud, saying that it keeps them warm, and when the sun comes out they wash it off. The women dress with some mod-

esty, even to the little girls. They wear for this purpose an apron that they make of tules or of sedge, which does not hang below the knee. A similar one is worn behind, both hanging from a belt so that they form a sort of skirt, which gives them quite an appearance of decency. They also wear similar garments over their shoulders to protect them somewhat from the cold.

Their marriage takes place without more ceremony than the consent of the two parties, and it lasts until they quarrel and separate, joining each with another man or woman, and the children generally following the mother. They have no other expression for the dissolution of a marriage than to say, "I cast him aside" or "I threw her over." Notwithstanding this there are many married couples, both young and old, who live together in the most perfect union and peacefulness, loving their children dearly, as the children do their parents. They take no account of relationship by marriage, but rather incline to take to wife their sisters-in-law and even their mothers-in-law. The custom that they observe is that he who takes a woman takes all her sisters with her, and thus they have many wives but there is no evidence of any jealousy among them, and the elder looks upon the children of her sisters, the second and third wives, with the same love that she bears toward her own, and they all live together in the same house.

At this Mission, on one occasion, we baptized three infants born within two weeks, all children of one Indian by three wives who were sisters. As if this were not enough, he had also taken his mother-in-law to wife. But by the will of God he was converted, and his four wives also, and he kept only the eldest sister who had been his first wife, while the others after their baptism were married according to the Roman ritual to other converts. By this example, and by means of our sermons and our teaching, they are being persuaded to forsake polygamy and are being brought into our Holy Catholic Faith. All the converts live in the precincts of the Mission (*baxo de campana*), going twice a day to church to recite the catechism, and supporting their communal life by the crops of wheat, corn, beans, etc., that they raise. We also have the fruits of Castile—peaches of different kinds, pomegranates, etc.—for the trees that we planted at the founding of the Mission are already bearing. All of the community dress in the clothing that the fathers procured from Mexico at the expense of the *Señor Síndico* [treasurer of the Franciscan College of San Fernando in Mexico City] and by the generosity of several benefactors. And it is well worthy of note that although prior to baptism they had not the slightest modesty, no sooner have they been baptized than there comes over them such a sense of shame that if it becomes necessary to change their drawers or loin cloths because they are too small, they hide and will not show themselves before each other or much less before the father. All that has been said as to the natives of this Port and its environs is true also, with little variation, of those of the other Missions, the differences of language notwithstanding.

MAP OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

Made by José Cañizares in 1776

Reproduced through the courtesy of Mr. Henry R. Wagner from a photograph of the original in the War Department, Madrid, Spain.

# SAN FRANCISCO IN 1792

*Yerba Buena Cove, the Mission and the Presidio of San Francisco as Described by Captain George Vancouver, the First Englishman to Enter the Bay of San Francisco Which He Did Wednesday, November 14, 1792*

THURSDAY MORNING discovered our anchorage to be in a most excellent small bay, within three fourths of a mile of the nearest shore, bearing by compass south; one point of the bay bearing N. 56 W., the other S. 73 E., the former at the distance of 2½, the latter about 3 miles. The herds of cattle and flocks of sheep grazing on the surrounding hills were a sight we had long been strangers to, and brought to our minds many pleasing reflections. These indicated that the residence of their proprietors could not be far remote, though we could perceive neither habitations nor inhabitants. On hoisting the colours at sunrise a gun was fired, and a little time afterwards several people were seen on horseback coming from behind the hills down to the beach, who waved their hats, and made other signals for a boat, which was immediately sent to the shore, and on its return I was favored with the good company of a priest [Padre Landaeta] of the order of St. Francisco, and a sergeant [Pedro Amador] in the Spanish army to breakfast. The reverend father expressed, and seemingly with great sincerity, the pleasure he felt at our arrival, and assured me that every refreshment and service in the power of himself or mission to bestow, I might unreservedly command; since it would be conferring on them all a peculiar obligation to allow them to be serviceable. The sergeant expressed himself in the most friendly manner, and informed me, that in the absence of the commandant, he was directed on our arrival to render us every accommodation the settlement could afford.

We attended them on shore after breakfast, where they embraced the earliest opportunity of proving, that their friendly expressions were not empty professions, by presenting me with a very fine ox, a sheep, and some excellent vegetables. The good friar, after pointing out the most convenient spot for procuring wood and water, and repeating the hospitable offers he had before made in the name of the fathers of the Franciscan order, returned to the mission of St. Francisco, which we understood was at no great distance, and to which he gave us the most pressing invitation.

From these gentlemen we learned, that the station we had taken was far within the general anchoring place of the Spanish vessels, which they said was off that part of the shore where the light was shewn and guns fired the preceding night on the beach, near the entrance into the port. Our situation was however perfectly commodious and suitable to all our purposes, and with permission of the sergeant, I directed a tent to be pitched for the accommodation of

the party employed in procuring wood and water; whilst the rest of the crew were engaged on board in repairing the damages sustained in our sails, rigging, &c. during the tempestuous weather with which we had lately contended.

We amused ourselves with shooting a few quails on the adjacent hills and in the afternoon returned on board to partake of the excellent repast which had been supplied by our hospitable friends. Whilst we were thus pleasantly engaged, our boat brought off father Antonio Danti, the principal of the mission of St. Francisco, and Sen$^{r.}$ Don Heamegildo [Hermenegildo] Sal, an ensign in the Spanish army, and commandant of the port. This gentleman, like those who visited us in the morning, met us with such warm expressions of friendship and goodwill, as were not less deserving our highest commendations, than our most grateful acknowledgments.

The happiness they seemed to anticipate did not appear to arise so much from any pleasure they might derive in our society, as from the comforts and assistance which it was in their power to administer; this was manifested by all their actions, and by their expressing that our arrival had empowered them to execute a task the most accordant to their own wishes, as well as to the directions of their sovereign, which had been communicated to them and to the neighbouring settlements and missions.

From Sen$^{r.}$ Sal I was made acquainted, that although the situation we had taken might answer our purposes in a certain degree, yet there was one which we had passed by the preceding evening, that we should find infinitely more commodious, as we should then be more immediately in his neighborhood, and more frequent opportunities would be afforded him of rendering us service. In addition to the motive of his politeness, I was induced to comply with his wishes by the falling tide discovering to us a very great obstacle to our communication with that part of the shore from whence the wood and water were to be procured. A large bank of soft mud was found at low water to extend nearly half way between the ship and the shore.

I understood from these gentlemen that Sen$^{r.}$ Quadra still waited our arrival at Monterrey; I therefore intrusted to them a letter informing him of our arrival in this port, to which Sen$^{r.}$ Sal said an answer would most likely be procured in the course of three or four days. Having joined with us in drinking the healths of our royal masters, they took their leave and returned to the shore.

In the afternoon a fresh breeze from the S. E. sprang up, attended with rainy disagreeable weather, which continued during the night; the next morning we had a strong gale from the S. and S. W. with heavy squalls and much rain. Having no time to spare, and the pilot sent by Sen$^{r.}$ Sal being arrived, we proceeded under double-reefed topsails to the general place of anchorage, which we reached by noon, and took our station about a quarter of a mile from the shore in 5 fathoms water; the outer anchor was in 13 fathoms soft muddy bottom. In this situation the S. E. and N. W. points of the passage into this

port, in a line, bore by compass S. 80 W. distant about half a mile. The flag staff at the Presidio bore S. 42 E.

The little we had seen of port St. Francisco enabled us to decide that it was very extensive in two directions; one spacious branch took its course east and south-eastward to a great distance from the station we had quitted in the morning, the other apparently of equal magnitude led to the northward. In this were several islands. Although I had been informed by Sen$^{r.}$ Quadra that the boundaries of this inlet had been defined, yet I was anxious to be more particularly acquainted with its extent, having since been given to understand that Sen$^{r.}$ Quadra's information was by no means correct.

Near the branch leading to the east and south-eastward above-mentioned, is situated the mission of S$^{ta}$ Clara. These gentlemen informed me, that this branch had been thoroughly examined, but that the branch leading to the north never had. I was, however, obliged to remain contented under the certainty of such contradictory information; for the port having been established by Spain, I did not consider it prudent to prosecute its examination without sufficient authority for so doing: nor was the weather favorable for such an undertaking, though it did not prevent the exercise of those friendly dispositions in the Spanish commandant, which he had before professed. He had been some time on the beach in the rain before we anchored, for the purpose of instantly affording us any assistance in his power to supply. A message to this effect was brought by three of the native Indians who spoke Spanish, and who came on board in a canoe of the country; which with another (though perhaps the same) seen crossing the harbour the evening we entered it, were the only Indian vessels we had met with, and were without exception the most rude and sorry contrivances for embarkation I had ever beheld. The length of them was about ten feet, the breadth about three or four; they were constructed of rushes and dried grass of a long broad leaf, made up into rolls the length of the canoe, the thickest in the middle, and regularly tapering to a point at each end. These are so disposed, that on their ends being secured and lashed together the vessel is formed, which being broadest in the middle, and coming to a point at each extremity, goes with either end foremost. These rolls are laid and fastened so close to each other, that in calm weather and smooth water I believe them to be tolerably dry, but they appeared to be very ill calculated to contend with wind and waves. The wind now blew strong with heavy squalls from the S. W. and in the middle of this spacious inlet the sea broke with much force; notwithstanding which, as soon as these people had delivered their message, they crossed the inlet for the purpose of catching fish, without seeming to entertain the least apprehension for their safety. They conducted their canoe or vessel by long double-bladed paddles, like those used by the Esquimaux.

The S. W. wind attended by much rain, blew very hard until the morning of the 17th, when the weather becoming more moderate I visited the shore.

I was greatly mortified to find, that neither wood nor water could be procured with such convenience, nor of so good a quality, as at the station we had quitted a league and a half within the entrance of the port on the southern shore; but as our Spanish friends had informed us that the water here was far superior in its quality to that at Monterrey, there was now no alternative but that of taking what the country afforded. A tent was immediately pitched on the shore, wells were dug for obtaining water, and a party was employed in procuring fuel from small bushy holly-leaved oaks, the only trees fit for our purpose. A lagoon of sea water was between the beach and the spot on which these trees grew, which rendered the conveying the wood when cut a very laborious operation.

Whilst engaged in allotting to the people their different employments, some saddled horses arrived from the commandant with a very cordial invitation to his habitation; which was accepted by myself and some of the officers. We rode up to the Presidio, an appellation given to their military establishments in this country, and signifying a *safe guard*. The residence of the friars is called a Mission. We soon arrived at the Presidio, which was not more than a mile from our landing place. Its wall, which fronted the harbour, was visible from the ships; but instead of the city or town, whose lights we had so anxiously looked for on the night of our arrival, we were conducted into a spacious verdant plain, surrounded by hills on every side, excepting that which fronted the port. The only object of human industry which presented itself, was a square area, whose sides were about two hundred yards in length, enclosed by a mud wall, and resembling a pound for cattle. Above this wall the thatched roofs of their low small houses just made their appearance. On entering the Presidio, we found one of its sides still uninclosed by the wall, and very indifferently fenced in by a few bushes here and there, fastened to stakes in the ground. The unfinished state of this part, afforded us an opportunity of seeing the strength of the wall, and the manner in which it was constructed. It is about fourteen feet high, and five feet in breadth, and was first formed by uprights and horizontal rafters of large timber, between which dried sods and moistened earth were pressed as close and as hard as possible; after which the whole was cased with the earth made into a sort of mud plaster, which gave it the appearance of durability, and of being sufficiently strong to protect them, with the assistance of their fire-arms, against all the force which the natives of the country might be able to collect.

The Spanish soldiers composing the garrison amounted, I understood, to thirty-five; who, with their wives, families, and a few Indian servants, composed the whole of the inhabitants. Their houses were along the wall, within the square, and their fronts uniformly extended the same distance into the area, which is clear open space, without buildings or other interruptions. The only entrance into it, is by a large gateway; facing which, and against the center of the opposite wall or side, is the church; which, though small, was

neat in comparison to the rest of the buildings. This projects further into the square than the houses and is distinguishable from the other edifices, by being whitewashed with lime made from sea-shells; as there has not yet been any lime-stone or calcareous earth discovered in the neighborhood. On the left of the church, is the commandant's house, consisting, I believe, of two rooms and a closet only, which are divided by massy walls, similar to that which encloses the square, and communicating with each other by very small doors. Between these apartments and the outward wall was an excellent poultry house and yard, which seemed pretty well stocked; and between the roof and ceilings of the rooms was a kind of lumber garret: these were all the conveniences the habitation seemed calculated to afford. The rest of the houses, though smaller, were fashioned exactly after the same manner; and in the winter, or rainy seasons, must at the best be very uncomfortable dwellings. For though the walls are a sufficient security against the inclemency of the weather, yet the windows, which are cut in the front wall, and look into the square, are destitute of glass, or any other defence that does not at the same time exclude the light.

The apartment in the commandant's house, into which we were ushered, was about thirty feet long, fourteen feet broad, and twelve feet high; and the other room, or chamber, I judged to be of the same dimensions, excepting in its length, which appeared to be somewhat less. The floor was of the native soil raised about three feet from its original level, without being boarded, paved, or even reduced to an even surface: the roof was covered in with flags and rushes, the walls on the inside had once been white-washed; the furniture consisted of a very sparing assortment of the most indispensable articles, of the rudest fashion, and of the meanest kind; and ill accorded with the ideas we had conceived of the sumptuous manner in which the Spaniards live on this side of the globe.

It would, however, be the highest injustice, notwithstanding that elegancies were wanting, not to acknowledge the very cordial reception and hearty welcome we experienced from our worthy host; who had provided a refreshing repast, and such an one as he thought likely to be most acceptable at that time of the day; nor was his lady less assiduous, nor did she seem less happy than himself, in entertaining her new guests.

On approaching the house we found this good lady, who, like her spouse, had passed the middle age of life, decently dressed, seated cross-legged on a mat, placed on a small square wooden platform raised three or four inches from the ground, nearly in front of the door, with two daughters and a son, clean and decently dressed, sitting by her; this being the mode observed by these ladies when they receive visitors. The decorous and pleasing behaviour of the children was really admirable, and exceeded any thing that could have been expected from them under the circumstances of their situation, without any other advantages than the education and example of their parents; which however seemed to have been studiously attended to, and did them great

credit. This pleasing sight added to the friendly reception of our host and hostess, rendered their lowly residence no longer an object of our attention; and having partaken of the refreshments they had provided, we remounted our horses in order to take a view of the surrounding country before we returned on board to dinner, where Senr. Sal and his family had promised to favor me with their good company, and who had requested my permission to increase their party by the addition of some other ladies in the garrison.

Our excursion did not extend far from the Presidio, which is situated as before described in a plain surrounded by hills. This plain is by no means a dead flat, but of unequal surface; the soil is of a sandy nature, and was wholly under pasture, on which were grazing several flocks of sheep and herds of cattle; the sides of the surrounding hills, though but moderately elevated, seemed barren, or nearly so; and their summits were composed of naked uneven rocks. Two small spaces in the plain, very insecurely inclosed, were appropriated to kitchen gardens; much labour did not appear to have been bestowed either in the improvement of the soil, in selecting the quality of the vegetables, or in augmenting their produce; the several seeds once placed in the ground, nature was left to do the rest without receiving any assistance from manual labor.

Senr. Sal having been made acquainted with the difficulties we had to encounter in removing our wood to the sea side, politely offered us the carts he had for the use of the Presidio; but on their being produced I was greatly disappointed, as they were by no means so well calculated as the miserable straw canoes for the service they were intended to perform.

Thus, at the expence of very little examination, though not without much disappointment, was our curiosity satisfied concerning the Spanish town and settlement of St. Francisco. Instead of finding a country tolerably well inhabited and far advanced in cultivation, if we except its natural pastures, the flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle, there is not an object to indicate the most remote connection with any European, or other civilized nation.

This sketch will be sufficient, without further comment, to convey some idea of the inactive spirit of the people, and the unprotected state of the establishment at this port, which I should conceive ought to be a principal object of the Spanish crown, as a key and barrier to their more southern and valuable settlements on the borders of the north Pacific. Should my idea of its importance be over-rated, certain it is, that considered solely as an establishment, which must have been formed at considerable expence, it possesses no other means for its protection than such as have been already described; with a brass three-pounder mounted on a rotten carriage before the presidio, and a similar piece of ordnance which (I was told) was at the S. E. point of entrance lashed to a log instead of a carriage; and was the gun whose report we heard the evening of our arrival. Before the presidio there had formerly been two pieces of ordnance, but one of them had lately burst to pieces.

The examination of these few objects, and the consequent observations upon them, occupied our leisure until dinner time, when we returned on board, accompanied by Senr. Sal, his wife, and party, and one of the fathers of the mission of St. Francisco, Martin de Landaeta, who brought me a pressing and polite invitation from his brethren, and who proved to be a very pleasing and entertaining acquisition to our society.

The next day, being Sunday, was appointed for my visiting the mission. Accompanied by Mr. Menzies and some of the officers, and our friendly Senr. Sal, I rode thither to dinner. Its distance from the presidio is about a league, in an eastwardly direction; our ride was rendered unpleasant by the soil being very loose and sandy, and by the road being much incommoded with low groveling bushes.

Its situation and external appearance in a great measure resembled that of the presidio; and, like its neighbourhood, the country was pleasingly diversified with hill and dale. The hills were at a greater distance from each other, and gave more extent to the plain, which is composed of a soil infinitely richer than that of the presidio, being a mixture of sand and a black vegetable mould. The pastures bore a more luxuriant herbage, and fed a greater number of sheep and cattle. The barren sandy country through which we had passed, seemed to make a natural division between the lands of the mission and those of the presidio, and extends from the shores of the port to the foot of a ridge of mountains, which border on the exterior coast, and appear to stretch in a line parallel to it. The verdure of the plain continued to a considerable height up the sides of these hills; the summits of which, though still composed chiefly of rugged rocks, produced a few trees.

The buildings of the mission formed two sides of a square only, and did not appear as if intended, at any future time, to form a perfect quadrangle like the presidio. The architecture and materials, however seemed nearly to correspond.

On our arrival, we were received by the reverend fathers with every demonstration of cordiality, friendship, and the most genuine hospitality. We were instantly conducted to their mansion, which was situated near, and communicated with the church. The houses formed a small oblong square, the side of the church composed one end, near which were the apartments allotted to the fathers. These were constructed nearly after the manner of those at the presidio, but appeared to be more finished, better contrived, were larger, and much more cleanly. Along the walls of this interior square, were also many other apartments adapted to various purposes.

Whilst dinner was preparing, our attention was engaged in seeing the several houses within the square. Some we found appropriated to the reception of grain, of which however they had not a very abundant stock; nor was the place of the growth within sight of the mission; though the richness of the contiguous soil, seemed equal to all the purposes of husbandry. One large room

was occupied by manufacturers of a coarse sort of blanketing, made from the wool produced in the neighbourhood. The looms, though rudely wrought, were tolerably well contrived, and had been made by the Indians, under the immediate direction and superintendence of the fathers; who, by the same assiduity, had carried the manufacture thus far into execution. The produce resulting from their manufactory is wholly applied to the clothing of the converted Indians. I saw some of the cloth, which was by no means despicable; and, had it received the advantage of fulling, would have been a very decent sort of clothing. The preparation of the wool, as also the spinning and weaving of it, was, I understood, performed by unmarried women and female children, who were all resident within the square, and were in a state of conversion to the Roman Catholic persuasion. Besides manufacturing the wool, they are also instructed in a variety of necessary, useful, and beneficial employments, until they marry, which is greatly encouraged; when they retire from the tuition of the fathers to the hut of their husband. By these means it is expected, that their doctrines will be firmly established, and rapidly propagated; and the trouble they now have with their present untaught flock will be hereafter recompensed, by having fewer prejudices to combat in the rising generation. They likewise consider their plan as essentially necessary, in a political point of view, for insuring their own safety. The women and girls being the dearest objects of affection amongst these Indians, the Spaniards deem it expedient to retain constantly a certain number of females immediately within their power, as a pledge for the fidelity of the men, and as a check on any improper designs the natives might attempt to carry into execution, either against the missionaries, or the establishment in general.

By various encouragements and allurements to the children, or their parents, they can depend upon having as many to bring up in this way as they require; here they are well fed, better clothed than the Indians in the neighborhood, are kept clean, instructed, and have every necessary care taken of them; and in return for these advantages they must submit to certain regulations; amongst which, they are not suffered to go out of the interior square in the day time without permission; are never to sleep out of it at night; and to prevent elopements, this square has no communication with the country but by one common door, which the fathers themselves take care of, and see that it is well secured every evening, as also the apartments of the women, who generally retire immediately after supper.

If I am correctly informed by the different Spanish gentlemen with whom I conversed on this subject, the uniform, mild, and kind-hearted disposition of this religious order, has never failed to attach to their interest the affections of the natives, wherever they have sat down amongst them; this is a very happy circumstance, for their situation otherwise would be excessively precarious; as they are protected only by five soldiers who reside under the directions of a corporal, in the buildings of the mission at some distance on the other side of the church.

The establishment must certainly be considered as liable to some danger. Should these children of nature be ever induced to act an ungrateful and treacherous part, they might easily conceal sufficient weapons to effect any evil purpose. There are only three fathers; these live by themselves, and should any attempt be made upon them at night, the very means they have adopted for their security might deprive them of any assistance from the guard until it might be too late; and individually, they could make but little resistance. Should a conspiracy for their destruction take place, the mission would soon fall, and there would be little doubt of the conspirators being joined by the Indians of the village, which is in the vicinity of the mission, and was said to contain six hundred persons; but on visiting it, I considered their number greatly over-rated. The major part of them, I understood, were converted to the Roman Catholic persuasion; but I was astonished to observe how few advantages had attended their conversion.

They seemed to have treated with the most perfect indifference the precepts, and laborious example, of their truly worthy and benevolent pastors; whose object has been to allure them from their life of indolence, and raise in them a spirit of emulous industry; which, by securing to them plenty of food and the common conveniences of life, would necessarily augment their comforts, and encourage them to seek and embrace the blessings of civilized society. Deaf to the important lessons, and insensible to the promised advantages, they still remained in the most abject state of uncivilization; and if we except the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, and those of Van Dieman's land, they are certainly a race of the most miserable beings I ever saw, possessing the faculty of human reason. Their persons, generally speaking, were under the middle size, and very ill made; their faces ugly, presenting a dull, heavy, and stupid countenance, devoid of sensibility or the least expression. One of their greatest aversions is cleanliness, both in their persons and habitations; which, after the fashion of their forefathers, were still without the most trivial improvement. Their houses were of a conical form, about six or seven feet in diameter at their base (which is the ground), and are constructed by a number of stakes, chiefly of the willow tribe, which are driven erect into the earth in a circular manner, the upper ends of which being small and pliable are brought nearly to join at the top, in the center of the circle; and these being securely fastened, give the upper part or roof somewhat of a flattish appearance. Thinner twigs of the like species are horizontally interwoven between the uprights, forming a piece of basket work about ten or twelve feet high; at the top a small aperture is left, which allows the smoke of the fire made in the center of the hut to escape, and admits most of the light they receive: the entrance is by a small hole close to the ground, through which with difficulty one person at a time can gain admittance. The whole is covered over with a thick thatch of dried grass and rushes.

These miserable habitations, each of which was allotted for the residence

of a whole family, were erected with some degree of uniformity, about three or four feet asunder, in straight rows, leaving lanes or passages at right angles between them; but these were so abominably infested with every kind of filth and nastiness, as to be rendered not less offensive than degrading to the human species.

Close by stood the church, which for its magnitude, architecture, and internal decorations, did great credit to the constructors of it; and presented a striking contrast between the exertions of genius, and such as bare necessity is capable of suggesting. The raising and decorating this edifice appeared to have greatly attracted the attention of the fathers; and the comforts they might have provided in their own humble habitations, seemed to have been totally sacrificed to the accomplishment of this favorite object. Even their garden, an object of such material importance, had not yet acquired any great degree of cultivation, though its soil was a rich black mould, and promised an ample return for any labour that might be bestowed upon it. The whole contained about four acres, was tolerably well fenced in, and produced some fig, peach, apple, and other fruit-trees, but afforded a very scanty supply of useful vegetables; the principal part lying waste and over-run with weeds.

On our return to the convent, we found a most excellent and abundant repast provided of beef, mutton, fish, fowls, and such vegetables as their garden afforded. The attentive and hospitable behaviour of our new friends amply compensated for the homely manner in which the dinner was served; and would certainly have precluded my noticing the distressing inconvenience these valuable people labour under, in the want of almost all the common and most necessary utensils of life, had I not been taught to expect, that this colony was in a very different stage of improvement, and that its inhabitants were infinitely more comfortably circumstanced.

From *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World; in which the coast of North-West America has been carefully examined and accurately surveyed. Undertaken by His Majesty's Command, principally with a view to ascertain the existence of any navigable communication between the North Pacific and North Atlantic Oceans; and performed in the years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795, in the Discovery Sloop of War, and Armed Tender Chatham, under the command of Captain George Vancouver.* London: Printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, Paternoster Row; and J. Edwards, Pall-Mall, 1798. Vol. II, pp. 1-14.

Juz.do Constitu.l de
Municipalidad de
S. Man.l

Circular

Para V. S. del Comen-
da de la Sebabuna

Estando bien convencido de que todos estan obligados a auxiliar a las autoridades, en los casos necesarios, como para la conservacion del orden, y tranquilidad de los pueblos, la seguridad de las personas, individuos y generalmente, en propiedades; y por ultimo tambien p.r la seguridad de los delincuentes cuyos delitos atenten la Autoridad o sus personas. En tal concepto, es de necesidad que VVds. contribuyan con su asistencia, por

Cap.n a P.te D. Guillermo Richardson. 1. hombre
D. Jacobo P.L. 1 hombre
D. Nolan Spier 1 hombre
. Juan C. Fuller. 1 hombre
D. Juan. Casas. 1. hombre

o por otro, inmedia
que concurran, p
segun el Orden, qu
se margina; para
que se encargue
la guardia y cu
dia en el Puerto
se Ant.o Galvez
cuya fatiga, y ca
cio, hace dias est
soportando el po
beno.o que se hay
inmediato.

En esto hacen m
un cabal proce
a su deber

Dios

y libertad. L. Inm.
19 a Oct.e 1838.

Francisco de
Haro

H. del Comercio en
punto de la Yerba
ena

# LETTER OF FRANCISCO DE HARO TO THE FIVE MERCHANTS OF YERBA BUENA

*Concerning the Guarding of José Antonio Galindo Who had Killed José Peralta; and De Haro's Request to Governor Alvarado for Permission to Send the Prisoner to San José, There Being no Jail in San Francisco*

De Haro's letter, reproduced in facsimile, and here translated, gives an interesting picture of conditions in Yerba Buena in the month of October, 1838. The old settlement about Mission Dolores had shrunk in importance, the Presidio was practically abandoned, for only one soldier, Corporal Joaquin Peña,[1] was stationed there, but the commercial town of Yerba Buena boasted five men of the merchant class to whom Alcalde De Haro could appeal for help in the dilemma facing him.

Of these five traders settled in the town Captain Richardson had founded in June, 1835, two were Americans—Leese and Spear; two were English by birth—Fuller and Richardson; and the fifth, Cáceres, was the only one of Spanish descent.

It is interesting to note that even in 1838, but three years after its settlement, Yerba Buena was distinctly Anglo-American in make-up, a condition which persisted until American occupation seven years later. It can almost be said that Yerba Buena was an Anglo-Saxon island set down in the midst of an Hispano-Mexican sea.

The original of De Haro's letter was once in the possession of Mr. John Howell. Before it was stolen, he fortunately had it photostated, thus preserving this interesting document and making possible its reproduction.

## DE HARO'S LETTER

Constitutional Tribunal of the Municipality of San Francisco
Circular to the Merchants of Yerbabuena

Being fully convinced that all are duty-bound to aid the authorities in cases of necessity, such as for the preservation of order and the peace of the settlements, the safety of the individual persons and in general that of their properties; and finally also for the security of the offenders whose crimes demand that their persons be taken into custody: Under such a concept, it is necessary that you should contribute your help, or you may do so through the medium of other individuals who may agree to do so, according to the order listed in the margin; so that they may take charge of the guarding and custody of the prisoner José Antonio Galindo, which toil and service has been borne for some days by the small population found in the neighbourhood.

1. Eldredge, Zoeth S., *Beginnings of San Francisco*, p. 722.

In this you will render a service commensurate to your duty.
God and Liberty. San Francisco, October 29, 1838.

FRANCISCO DE HARO.

Captain of the Port Señor
William A. Richardson, 1, man.
Señor Jacob P. Leese, 1, man.
Señor Nathan Spear, 1, man.
Señor John C. Fuller, 1, man.
Don Francisco Cásares [Cáceres], 1, man.

Gentlemen of the commerce
at the village of Yerbabuena.

The duty of guarding the prisoner Galindo must have become onerous. November, December, January and most of February passed, and then De Haro appealed to Governor Alvarado for relief.

DE HARO TO GOVERNOR JUAN B. ALVARADO[2]

Juzgado [Tribunal] of San Francisco[2]

From the scattered condition of the inhabitants of the place, from the fact that each one has his agricultural and stock interests at a great distance [from this place], it results, that there are very few remaining to guard the criminal José Anto. Galindo, and these cannot spare the time from their personal business. These facts induce me to consult your Excellency in relation to the removal of the said Galindo to the Pueblo of San José, since at that place there is a "pueblo unido" [united people], possessing the means of obtaining assistance and other circumstances wanting at this place, such as a jail and means of subsistence; for these reasons I think it advisable to remove said Galindo to San José. Your Excellency will be pleased, however, to resolve in relation to the matter, and determine what is necessary to be done in the premises.

God and Liberty.

FRANCISCO DE HARO.

San Francisco, February 27th, 1839.

That there was no jail in San Francisco in 1839 presupposes an absence of crime up to that time, a condition that unfortunately did not continue.

To carry out the picture of the Yerba Buena of 1838, short biographies of all the men addressed by Alcalde De Haro have been written, including that of the Alcalde himself. These short sketches which follow this article are based upon all too meager but authentic facts. They will give the reader a definite notion of the type of man who laid the beginnings of San Francisco's communal life and its commerce.

2. Dwinelle, John W. *Colonial History of San Francisco*, addenda, p. 61.

# YERBA BUENA BIOGRAPHIES

## WILLIAM A. RICHARDSON

### 1795-1856

THE BRITISH WHALER *Orion* entered the Bay of San Francisco August 2, 1822, and anchored off the Presidio. The mate of this vessel was William Richardson, an Englishman born in Kent in the year 1795. On October 7, 1822, Richardson addressed a communication to Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola asking permission to become a resident of California, which permission, written upon the margin of the original request and signed by Sola at Monterey on the 12th of October, was as follows: "Being aware that the petitioner, besides being a navigator is conversant with and engaged in the occupation of a carpenter, I hereby grant the privilege he asks for, with the obligation that he shall receive and teach such young men as may be placed in his charge by my successor."

William Heath Davis notes in his *Seventy-five Years in California* a pretty tale connected with Richardson's landing on the Presidio beach. All the inhabitants of that military post, including the daughters of the Comandante, Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez, were present. Maria Antonia turned to her sisters exclaiming "What a handsome man that stranger is, who has just stepped ashore from the small boat! He will be my husband and I his wife," which prophecy was fulfilled in 1825 when Padre José Altimira married the young couple at the Mission of San Francisco de Asis.

Richardson possessed no middle name until his baptism on June 16, 1823; a necessary step for residence, Mexican citizenship and marriage. Then it was he chose the masculine form of his future wife's middle name: Antonio.

Immediately upon his arrival Richardson began work on a launch and a small vessel. With these, manned by Indian crews, he collected the produce of the neighboring Missions, thus being the first to organize transportation on San Francisco Bay. Some months after his marriage, says William Heath Davis, he sailed for Sitka in the vessel he had built and named the *Maria Antonia*. The purpose of this voyage was to obtain merchandise sadly needed in California. The venture was a success; and upon his return six months later, Richardson found that his wife had given birth to a baby girl who was named Mariana.

In 1829 Richardson visited Los Angeles and at San Pedro built a vessel in which in 1831 he made a voyage to Peru; first, however, bringing his family south and establishing them at the Mission San Gabriel. It was at San Gabriel

in the spring of 1835 that he met Governor Figueroa. To him he explained that he had twice approached the previous Governor, Echeandía, with a plan for the establishment of a commercial town at Yerba Buena Cove on San Francisco Bay, but that he had met with refusal. Governor Figueroa favored the plan, telling Richardson to lay out and map the location, which was done and approved during the régime of his successor, Governor José Castro. With his family and a drove of mules and horses, Richardson started northward in May, 1835, arriving at Yerba Buena cove, June 25. That day he set up the famous tent dwelling of posts and an old sail, the first habitation of the proposed commercial town which has since grown into the City of San Francisco.

## GOVERNOR CASTRO'S LETTER TO RICHARDSON

GOB'NO POLITICO INT'O
DE CALIFORNIA.

Conformandose este Gobno con los buenos deceos de mi antecesor el Señor Gral Don José Figueroa referentes a la fundacion de una poblacion en el lugar llamado la Yerba Buena y alendiendo egualmente a los manifestado por V. en nombre de los vecinos del pto de Sn Franco cuya bien estar deceo sincramente he venido en aprovar el plano que V. ha formado para dar principio a dicha poblacion bajo delcual y mientras tanto se areglar otro cosa lo mismo que para el sistema de autoridades civiles. Se tendra presente para los casos de concesion de solares a los individuos que los pretendare.

Todo lo que digo a V. para en satisfaccion dandole las gracias por los servicios que gratuitamente se propone hacer en favor de esos vecinos.

Dios y Libertad. José Castro.

Monterey, Octre 20 de 1835.

Al Sñ Don Guillermo Richardson,
Capt del Pto de San Francisco.

(*Translation*)

POLITICAL GOVERNMENT, AD INTERIM, OF UPPER CALIFORNIA

This Government, conforming with the good desire of my predecessor, Señor General Don José Figueroa, regarding the foundation of a village in the place, called "La Yerba Buena," and attending, likewise, to the statement made by you, in the name of the residents of the port of San Francisco, the welfare of which I sincerely desire, has approved the plan which you have formed for the commencement of said village; which (while other matters are arranged, together with the system of civil authorities,) will be borne in mind, in the cases of granting lots to the individuals who may solicit them.

All which I state to you for your satisfaction, thanking you for the services which, gratuitously, you propose to do in favor of those residents.

God and Liberty,

Monterey, Oct. 20, 1835. (*Signed*) José Castro.

To Señor Don Guillermo Richardson,
Captain of the Port of San Francisco.[1]

1. Quoted in full in *The Pioneer or California Monthly Magazine*. Vol. 1, p. 196.

Richardson's family lived in the tent for three months. In October, 1835, a wooden house was built, the same Richard Henry Dana, Jr., saw in December, 1835, and which he describes in his story of California life, *Two Years before the Mast*. Later Richardson constructed the *Casa Grande*, long the town's largest building. These structures—the tent, the wooden house, and the adobe *Casa Grande*—stood upon a lot 275 feet square in size, which today would be the northwest corner of Clay Street and Grant Avenue.

February 11, 1838,[2] Richardson became the grantee of the Sausalito Rancho, for which he had petitioned Governor Alvarado from the Puerto de San Diego under date of February 18, 1835, and in 1841 removed from Yerba Buena to that location. Both under Mexican and American rule, Richardson served as Captain of the Port of San Francisco, and was renowned as an expert pilot and navigator. He died April 20, 1856, at his home in Sausalito, and was there buried.

Davis, who knew Richardson intimately, says that he was "a handsome man, above medium height, with an attractive face and a musical voice, which his daughter Mariana inherited."

Richardson's marriage to Maria Antonia Martinez was blessed by three children: Mariana, Francisco, and Estevan. The daughter Mariana married Manuel Torres, brother of Mrs. Stephen Smith of Bodega. Mrs. F. E. Beck, Mrs. George W. Davis, and Manuel, Alfred, Charles and Albert Torres were the children of this union.

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2. These dates are taken from certified copies of the original documents now in the Templeton Crocker collection, California Historical Society.

## JACOB PRIMER LEESE

1809-1892

Jacob Primer Leese, born in St. Clairsville, Ohio, August 19, 1809, was engaged in the Santa Fé trade in 1830, coming to California first in 1833 and returning in 1834 when he settled in Los Angeles. In 1836 he entered into a partnership at Monterey with Nathan Spear and William Sturgis Hinckley, both Americans, which had for its purpose the establishment of a mercantile business at Yerba Buena on San Francisco Bay, the town William A. Richardson had laid out the year previously and of which he was the first settler. Leese began his house upon the lot officially granted to him July 8, 1836, in time to celebrate Independence Day by a feast and dancing at which the American flag was first raised within the limits of the future San Francisco and to which the neighboring rancheros with their wives and children came in numbers. Among his guests were General Mariano G. Vallejo and his sister Rosalia, to whom Leese was married the following April.

Through the kindness of Mr. Henry R. Wagner an unpublished letter from his collection addressed by Leese to Abel Stearns of Los Angeles is here printed:

Mr. Abel Stearns St. Frcº May 8 1837.

My Dear Sir

Offer my Best Respectz to you and Mr N[?] Pryor, ande all Enquiring friendz. I do take the Pleasure to inform you that I am wile, ande also Mrs Leese who doez send her Best Respectz to you. The name above Mentioned is I do suppose and new name to you for whiche I have the pleasure to inform you that I waz married to a young Lady of Monterey on the 12th of Last Month in the Mission of St. Solano it was something of the Sly, But after the fation of uz Yankeyz in the Western part of the U States. Cince my Mariage it has created a great talke among the people of the Country—which waz in concequence of ittz being done so Sly and not a Coustom of the Country but they are now getting quite tame on the Subject and some sayz that it waz *bien echo*.

I do Send you By Capt Steele 288 Deer Skins for whiche I do wishe for you to Dispose of for me in Heidez or Tallow at St Pedro at Vessellz pricez you can take them on your own acc at 50c eache or I will allow you Six percent on their sailz—If you do want any Flower Let me Know and also send me Bagz as I have constantly my Bagz in employment in My Launchz and cannot spare them Flour I can let you have Put in San Pedro at 2$ per aroba—If you have any good Wine to Spare you will do me the favour to Send me one or Two Barillz for My own youce By the first opertunity and By So doing you will much oblige your most

afectionate Friende

Jacob P. Leese.

April 15, 1838, a daughter was born to Mr. and Mrs. Leese, named Rosalia after her mother, the first child to be born in Yerba Buena.

The partnership with Spear and Hinckley was dissolved in 1838, due to a business dispute over profits. Leese continued in business and later built on what is now Montgomery Street between Sacramento and Clay streets, the four 50 vara lots being officially granted to him January 15, 1840. This property he sold to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1841, removing to Sonoma.

Leese was naturalized as a Mexican citizen in 1836, and in 1841 became the grantee of the Cañada de Guadalupe y Rodeo Viejo y Visitacion rancho adjoining today's southern limits of San Francisco.

Leese was at Sonoma in June, 1846, when the Bear Flaggers arrested General Vallejo, and accompanied the General, his brother Salvador and Victor Prudon when they were taken as prisoners to Sutter's Fort, acting as interpreter.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* of February 2, 1892, says:

Having realized a comfortable fortune Mr. Leese retired with his family to Monterey where he lived in a quiet, unostentatious manner, occasionally visiting this city and always welcomed by his pioneer friends as the pioneer of pioneers. In later years he met with reverses and he died poor. . . .

In 1890 Mr. Leese returned to this city after a prolonged absence in the East, and on

August 4th of that year he was knocked down and run over by a wagon while crossing Fourth street from Pioneer Hall. His head and arms were badly cut. He was conveyed to St. Luke's Hospital and remained an inmate to the time of his death [February 1, 1892], kindly cared for by his brother pioneers. . . . The deceased leaves a son [Jacob R. Leese, born April 15, 1839, at Monterey] by his marriage to the sister of General Vallejo.

## NATHAN SPEAR

### 1802-1849

Nathan Spear, born at Fort Hill, Boston, August 24, 1802, left home October 25, 1819, in search of health and as a member of the crew of the vessel which carried the first expedition of Christian missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands under the leadership of the Reverend Mr. Bingham. Previous to his departure, young Spear had worked in the store of his brother Paul, a Boston chemist. The ship upon its arrival at the islands was sold to the king, and Spear returned to Boston in the *Arab*, commanded by Captain Lewis, by the way of Canton, China. In the spring of 1822 Spear sailed again for the Sandwich Islands, this time in the schooner *Rover*, Captain John R. Cooper master. This voyage was one of great hardship for the crew of which Spear was a member. Two months were consumed in passing Cape Horn and when the *Rover* finally arrived in Kowailee Bay, Hawaii, the whole crew and all on board were so much exhausted that it was nearly a day before the anchor could be let go. A Mr. Young came to the vessel's assistance, carrying Nathan Spear, who was so nearly dead as to be insensible, and others ashore and treating them with great kindness. It took Spear six months to regain his health. During 1824 and 1825 Spear was in charge of a phosphate mining venture at Fanning Island headed by Captain William G. Dana whose ranch (granted to him in 1837) at Nipomo between San Luis Obispo and Santa Barbara was later the meeting place of the first postal service between San Francisco and San Diego, being instituted April 1, 1848. The carrier from the north met the southern carrier at Dana's ranch, there exchanged mail pouches and returned to the point of departure. Captain Dana's phosphate scheme turned out to be a failure and Spear returned again to Boston as a passenger in the American whaleship *Houqua*. In 1829 he was once again in the Sandwich Islands and there married Miss Jane Holmes, daughter of Oliver Holmes, formerly governor of Oahu. Mrs. Spear's sister married Captain W. H. Davis and became the mother of William Heath Davis, author of *Seventy-five Years in California*, the source of much of our intimate knowledge of California in the 1840's, and during many years Nathan Spear's man of business at Yerba Buena.

Spear came to Monterey in 1831 and there established himself as one of the first merchants of that place. In 1836 he formed a partnership with Jacob Primer Leese and William Sturgis Hinckley for the purpose of opening a mercantile establishment at Yerba Buena under the management of Mr. Leese.

This connection was dissolved in 1838 at which time Spear removed from Monterey, leaving his business there in charge of William Warren, and having secured what is today the northwest corner of Clay and Montgomery streets, caused a ship's house from the bark *Kent* to be landed on the site. This building all Yerba Buenans knew by the name "Kent Hall." Spear later built a wooden building to the north of Kent Hall, and in 1839 a mule-power grist mill to the westward where flour was ground by Daniel Sill, his miller, for Vallejo and other rancheros about the Bay.

Spear transferred his schooner *Nicolas* to San Francisco Bay when he settled in Yerba Buena and soon afterward bought the *Isabella* which, under command of William Heath Davis, carried Johann August Sutter to the site of New Helvetia in 1839, when Sutter entered the Sacramento valley wilderness to found his establishment.

In 1846, Spear went to the ranch of his friend, Dr. Edward Turner Bale, near today's Calistoga. There he remained until 1848 when he returned to San Francisco, where he died, October 21, 1849, at the home of his nephew, William Heath Davis. At the time of his death, Nathan Spear was survived by a son, William N. Spear, then three years old, who died in 1884.

Spear consistently refused to give up his United States citizenship, and in this particular was different from all other early settlers in California who by becoming Mexican citizens and by marriage to daughters of Californians were possessed of vast tracts of land.

The article in the San Francisco *Alta California* of November 15, 1849, from which many facts of the above were gleaned, says that: "On the announcement of his death the flags from the shipping in the harbor of San Francisco were displayed at half mast in tribute to the memory of *the first merchant of the town.*"

## JOHN C. FULLER

### 1802 (?)-1849

Juan Casimero, or old Jack Fuller, as he was familiarly known, was an English sailor who came to California in 1823 as a member of the crew of the *Rover*, commanded by Captain J. R. Cooper, half-brother of Thomas O. Larkin, who later (1844) represented the United States as American Consul at Monterey. Captain Cooper, says Bancroft, sold the *Rover* to Governor Argüello, trading with the vessel to China until 1826. It would appear that Fuller continued in Cooper's employ until that time. There is a record of his being in California again in 1827, and in 1833 he was at Monterey. Having been baptized at San Blas, he married Concepcion Ávila at Santa Barbara, and was again in Monterey in 1836 with his wife and a daughter born that same year in the Sandwich Islands. He obtained a San Francisco lot in 1837: the

westerly two-thirds of the block bounded by Kearny, California, Sacramento and Montgomery streets. Here, according to both William F. Swasey and William Heath Davis, he built one or more houses, in one of which he lived. In 1841 he was naturalized and filled the office of *sindico*, or town treasurer of the village of Yerba Buena. Dwinelle, in his *Colonial History of San Francisco*, reproduces Fuller's *sindico* accounts from August, 1839, until January, 1842. Most of the money collected, amounting in all to $379.00, was for taxes on *aguardiente* paid by Spear, Leese, and other Yerba Buena merchants. The first money expended from this municipal fund was $9.00 for the opening of the road from Yerba Buena to the Mission. This improvement consisted in lopping off overhanging branches which crowded the sandy trail leading through St. Anne's valley—the vicinity of Mason and Eddy streets—and ending at Mission Dolores.

Davis[1] says that Fuller worked for Nathan Spear and that he was Yerba Buena's outstanding cook, which fact accounts for his personal supervision of all early day festivities. In addition to his culinary occupations he was the town's first laundryman, establishing his place of business on the beach about where Clay and Leidesdorff streets now cross. There a fine spring of fresh water gushed from the low bluff that rimmed the western limits of the cove.

Captain Gorham H. Nye sailed the ship *Fama*[2] into Yerba Buena cove in 1842. His arrival was signalized by a feast given by Nathan Spear at which Fuller presided in his capacity of town chef. Goats were a part of the *Fama's* cargo. These Spear and Fuller purchased, placing them with the Alcalde's permission on Yerba Buena Island. This was on account of the absence of fenced fields in California at the time. Fuller's plea that a handy supply of kid meat would vary the monotonous beef diet to which Californians were forced to submit was the deciding point in obtaining Spear's participation. The goats multiplied and by their presence obliterated the island's name of Yerba Buena, converting it to Goat Island.

In the census made by Francisco Sanchez on October 31, 1842, of the inhabitants of the San Francisco district under his control as justice of the peace, Fuller is set down as an Englishman, a merchant at Yerba Buena, aged 40, married to Concepcion Ávila, and the father of Maria Concepcion, six years old, and Santiago, four years old.

When the Donner party was entrapped, during the winter of 1846-47, in the Sierra snows with such disastrous results, Fuller joined with others in Yerba Buena in raising funds for the rescue of its members.

Just at the time that the village of Yerba Buena had grown into the important City of San Francisco in 1849, due to the world-wide furor caused by the gold rush, Juan Casimero Fuller passed away at the age of 47. All the old Yerba Buenans in their recollections published since then speak with affection of old Jack Fuller.

1. Davis, William Heath, *Seventy-five Years in California*, p. 185.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

# FRANCISCO CÁCERES

## 1770-1846

March 30, 1838, Francisco de Haro, as alcalde, granted to Francisco Cáceres a 100 vara lot in Yerba Buena in the block bounded by Grant Avenue, Kearny, Jackson and Pacific streets. Upon this land at what is today the southeast corner of Grant Avenue and Pacific Street, Cáceres built an adobe house where he lived with his family a number of years.[1] Cáceres, an ex-sergeant of dragoons, was a native of Spain. Bancroft lists him as a *regidor* at Monterey in the years 1828 and 1829. Later he removed to the San Francisco district[2] and in 1831 had the distinction of being its only Spanish-born resident.

From January, 1839, until August, 1839, when he was replaced by John C. Fuller, he acted as *sindico* of the municipality. Fuller's accounts which cover the period until January 10, 1842, shows no taxes paid by Cáceres for possession of aguardiente, seemingly a necessary stock in trade of all Yerba Buena merchants of the time, for Spear, Leese and others are repeatedly listed as liquor tax payers.

Cáceres married Anastasia Boronda and was the father of ten children: a daughter, Antonia, married James Dawson in 1840, and after his death, Dr. Fred Blume in 1849. She was the grantee of and claimant for the Pogolomi rancho in Sonoma County. Cáceres died at Freestone, Sonoma County, in 1848 at the age of 76, his wife surviving him but one year.

1. Eldredge, Zoeth S., *Beginnings of San Francisco*, p. 515. Dwinelle, John W., *Colonial History of the City of San Francisco*, p. 113.
2. Bancroft, H. H., *History of California*, Vol. II, p. 739.

# FRANCISCO DE HARO

## 1792-1848

Francisco de Haro[1] came to California in 1819 as a sub-lieutenant in the San Blas infantry. He accompanied Governor Argüello on his journey to the north in 1821 and a year later served as secretary both to the government and to the *diputacion*. In 1824, as second in command, he led an expedition against a revolt of Indian neophytes, which was suppressed, and that same year he retired from military service. Marrying Josefa, daughter of José Sanchez, the union was blessed with many children, of whom Josefa, born in 1825, became the wife of Francisco Guerrero, later prominent in the community and for whom Guerrero Street in San Francisco was named. Another of his daughters married a foreigner: Rosalia became the wife of A. A. Andrews, and after his death the wife of Charles Brown.

De Haro filled many important positions under the Mexican régime:

1. Bancroft, H. H., *History of California*, Vol. III, p. 776.

elector of the San Francisco *partido*, 1827; *suplente* of the *diputacion*, 1830-31; *vocal*, 1833-34, and in 1835 and 1838 he was alcalde at San Francisco. It was during his latter term of office that he wrote the letter addressed to the merchants of Yerba Buena reproduced in this issue of the *Quarterly*. From 1841 to 1844 De Haro was secretary of the *juzgado* or municipal tribunal of San Francisco.

On May 12, 1837, De Haro bought from José Antonio Galindo[2]—the identical individual mentioned in his letter of October 29, 1838—the Rancho Laguna de la Merced,[3] the purchase price being named as one hundred cows and twenty-five dollars in goods.

Francisco de Haro is listed in the census of 1842 as a native of Compostela in Old Mexico, then aged 50 and a widower. He died in San Francisco on November 28, 1849. De Haro Street in the Potrero district is named for him. It is said that he never recovered from the shock caused by the murder, at San Rafael, of his twin sons, Francisco and Ramon, then 19 years old, by the members of the survey crew under Frémont's command and of which Kit Carson was guide, in June, 1846.

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2. Dwinelle, John W., *Colonial History of the City of San Francisco*, p. 65.
3. Eldredge, Zoeth S., *Beginnings of San Francisco*, p. 202.

# DUMAS'S *GIL BLAS EN CALIFORNIE*

## *A Study of Its Sources*

*By* George R. Stewart, Jr.

In 1852 a book by Alexandre Dumas, *père*, was published both in Paris and in Brussels. In the French edition it bore the title, *Un Gil Blas en Californie*, and in the Belgian, *Californie—Un An sur les Bords du San Joaquin et du Sacramento*. In addition to various editions in French the book was published in a German translation in 1852, in an English translation in 1906, and finally in another English (American) translation in 1933. The latest biographer of Dumas assumes this work to be from the hand of the master himself. Actually how much was written by him and how much by one of his deputies is difficult to determine, and since this review is concerned with the book rather than with the author, this is not a problem to be discussed here. For convenience the author will be referred to, be he single or multiple, merely as Dumas.[1]

The problem of the sources cannot be appreciated without some slight knowledge of the content of the book, and accordingly the briefest possible summary is here given.

A certain unnamed young Frenchman finds himself in the spring of 1849 stricken with the gold-fever. He finally sails from Havre, August 21, with a company of one hundred and fifty on the ship *Cachalot*. Some details of a not very eventful voyage around the Horn are presented, and the voyagers at last disembark in San Francisco on January 8, 1850. At this point a considerable digression on the history of California is inserted. Our gold-seeker himself is upon landing almost penniless, so that he is forced to work first as a woodcutter and then as a porter, in order to obtain the money for an outfit and transportation. After about two months he is able to proceed to the gold-country in the vicinity of Sonora. There he mines at Pine Pass, on Murphy Creek, and at Yaqui, experiencing some minor adventures and finding a little gold. On May 27, however, he and his fellow Frenchmen find themselves confronted with the necessity of paying the newly established tax of twenty dollars a month upon each foreign miner. Some armed disturbances between the Americans and the foreigners follow, but our Frenchman soon returns discouraged to San Francisco, arriving there on June 22.

Soon afterward the city is devastated by a great fire, and the Frenchman, unable to find work, goes off with two companions to the vicinity of Sonoma to hunt game to be sold in the San Francisco markets. This enterprise proves successful, and the killing of various animals is described. One of the companions is an old hunter named Aluna who enlivens the narrative with several

camp-fire tales of his marvellous experiences with various wild beasts. In the course of some weeks, however, the hunting became poorer, and after further excursions, in the vicinity of Sacramento and San José, the Frenchman gives up pot-hunting and returns again to San Francisco.

There he decides to learn the wine business, and obtaining a position as *surveillant* at the Hotel Richelieu he works there a month, learning all that he can and saving his money. He is then able to establish himself as proprietor of a small wine-shop. When he is just beginning to prosper, however, another great fire sweeps the city on September 15; he loses shop, and savings almost to the last penny. Now discouraged, he decides to return to France, and sails from San Francisco October 18, on the ship *Mazagran*. A final chapter offers various comments upon California and the gold-fever.

The first indication that this story is largely based upon fact comes from Dumas himself who in a long and curiously cumbrous introduction addressed to his publisher states outright that the tale is not indeed his own work but is actually the journal kept by the young Frenchman who has just returned from California by way of the Cape of Good Hope; *"C'est ce journal que je vous envoie, très peu revu, très peu corrigé, et pas du tout augmenté par moi."* (p. 21.)

No one versed in the devious ways of novelists would of course for a moment accept this statement at its face value without further corroboration, but the story itself is circumstantial, and makes so few obvious errors that I found myself ready from the beginning to accept Dumas's statement as embodying at least a certain modicum of truth.

The readiest way to check the accuracy of the story seemed to be to compare it with the contemporary San Francisco newspapers and other records. In so doing some interesting results were revealed; the most striking are given here.

(1) Dumas: The ship *Cachalot* arrived in San Francisco on January 8, with 150 passengers, after a voyage of about 140 days (p. 83).

*The Pacific News*, January 15, 1850: under the list of arrivals for January 12 is recorded, "French ship Cachelot, Legrand, 150 days fm Havre, 130 passengers."

(2) Dumas: in the early part of 1850 the Frenchman's friend Hennecart has an engagement as an actor at a theater on Washington Street (p. 126).

*The Daily Pacific News*, April 27, 1850: "Mr. Hennecart will sing several songs," at the National Theatre, which was on Washington Street.

(3) Dumas: M. Delamarre organized the company at this same theater, and in it is an actress known as Juliette (pp. 126-27).

*Alta California*, February 18, 21, 1850: these facts confirmed.

(4) Dumas: troubles resulting from the tax of twenty dollars a month levied upon foreign miners, enforced from the date May 27 in the Sonora

districts (pp. 172-78). The Frenchman reads a posted notice of the new law (p. 172).

*California Statutes* for 1850, p. 222: the sum of twenty dollars is confirmed, and the date of enforcement is given as the second Monday of May, which for that year was the 13th. That the Sonora district was the one in which the greatest disturbance resulted is confirmed by H. H. Bancroft's *History of California* (Vol. VI, pp. 402-6).

(5) Dumas: a great fire in San Francisco starting between Clay and Sacramento streets, a day or two after June 22 (p. 180, 183).

Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco*, p. 277: a similar fire described with same place of origin, and date as June 14.

(6) Dumas: two of the Frenchman's friends, Gauthier and Mirandole, live on Carnay [Kearny] Street, and have a bonded warehouse for consignments (p. 186).

Kimball's *San Francisco City Directory* (1850): "Mirandol, A & Co. importer, c. Sac and Kearney."

(7) Dumas: a great fire in San Francisco on the morning of September 15 (p. 307).

*California Courier*, September 18, 1850: a great fire on the morning of September 18; details somewhat the same as those mentioned by Dumas.

(8) Dumas: the Frenchman left San Francisco, October 18, 1850, on the French ship *Mazagran*, Captain d'Audy, and returned home by way of Bengal, Cape of Good Hope, etc. (pp. 20, 311-12).

*California Courier*, October 12, 1850. Marine Intelligence: "Cleared . . . Fr. ship Mazegran, Dandy, Calcutta." (A ship ordinarily sailed on the day after clearing.)

To the definite confirmations of fact here presented might be added a great number of geographical references to places in California, as well as to streets and buildings in San Francisco. These are generally correct, or at least as correct as could be hoped. Mistakes in spelling and occasional mistakes in actual names are only to be expected with a visitor who does not speak the language of the country.[2]

From the evidence thus far presented two definite inferences may be drawn:

(1) Dumas's statement that he reproduces a journal is incorrect. There is on the contrary the strongest evidence that he had no journal at all from which to work, for the one trait more than any other which we expect from writing founded upon a journal is that the dates should be accurate. In this book, on the contrary, we find that the dates are, in every case, approximate.

(2) On the other hand, the evidence supports definitely the assumption

that Dumas derived information from a Frenchman who had recently returned from California. There is moreover not the slightest likelihood that Dumas obtained his information from books or newspapers, for in such a case he would have had dates which in some cases at least would have corresponded with those in the newspapers.

The conclusion seems then to be that Dumas based his book, directly or indirectly, upon the *memories* of a returned Californian. A large part of his narrative may therefore be granted the credence usually assigned to a traveler's reminiscence. Like other works of this kind it incorporates the narrator's own misconceptions. For instance, we cannot believe that the wolves in the Sierra foothills were ever bad enough to make it necessary for a party of armed men to abandon good gold workings and to flee for their lives (pp. 163-64), and yet it is quite possible that the Frenchmen, inexperienced of frontier life, lost their nerve at the howling of a few harmless coyotes, and imagined themselves in imminent peril from a huge pack of bloodthirsty timber wolves. Exaggeration, also, works into almost every reminiscence. History, for example, records no such large-scale fighting in the Sonoran district as when (pp. 175-77) an army of five hundred Frenchmen with two hundred Mexican allies combats a detachment of one hundred and fifty Americans, killing or wounding some twenty of them. Yet this is the sort of exaggeration which might easily grow from the disturbances on a much smaller scale which certainly did occur. Whether these misconceptions and exaggerations are the work of the novelist or whether they had entered the story before it was told to him cannot be accurately determined. Very likely, since numbers tend to increase with each retelling, both the unknown Frenchman and Dumas assisted in building up the final total.

By no means all of the story, however, can have been based upon an authentic reminiscence, however exaggerated, for the narrative is at times inconsistent with itself. Some of these inconsistencies are trivial, as for instance when Dumas with a flourish records that upon leaving Havre the voyagers lost sight of land not to see it again until Cape Horn, and then after a few pages notes several landfalls on the coast of Brazil (pp. 45, 58). But certain chronological difficulties are not to be explained as mere lapses resulting from love of rhetoric.

These chronological inconsistencies are in fact gross—worse even than would be expected in a piece of pure fiction. The Frenchman is in San Francisco at the time of the fire of June 14, which he himself would date about ten days later (p. 180 ff.). After the fire he spent some days looking for work, and then on June 26, according to his own statement (p. 192), he left on his hunting trip. He makes definite mention of a period of a fortnight (p. 211) spent in this pursuit, and implies that he spent a much longer time. He then departs upon a trip of six weeks near Sacramento (p. 278), passes a month in the employ of the Hotel Richelieu (p. 300), then establishes himself in business

for an indefinite period (p. 300). At the end of this time occurs the fire of September 18. But even by conservative figuring, it should by this time have been December![3]

An explanation of this error is not difficult, and the hypothesis here proposed is maintained by evidence which will be adduced in its support. The reviewer's belief is that the reminiscence upon which Dumas primarily based his book was too scanty to supply material for a whole volume, and at the same time was lacking in highlights. To increase the length of the work, in addition to employing his usual device of short paragraphs, Dumas (1) wrote a long and meandering introduction, (2) inserted historical and descriptive digressions based upon other books, and (3) composed the section dealing with adventures of the chase which he wrote as fiction, but for which he used another work as source. This last section was also of importance in supplying the European reader with some wild-west adventures.

The introduction is passed over as obvious and unimportant, and the factual passages also call for little comment. The source which Dumas used for these was Hypolite Ferry's *Description de la Nouvelle Californie* (Paris, 1850). These historical digressions include Chapters IV (latter part), V, XI (first part), XVII (first part), XX.[4] None of these sections is really a part of the Frenchman's narrative. Verbal resemblances to Ferry are not striking, but the succession of incidents, the figures and the dates are unmistakable. In addition the French edition actually cites Ferry in four footnotes (pp. 94, 107, 287, 320). In making use of his source Dumas was accurate, often almost slavishly so. But one change of moment is to be noted, and that one introduces a curious error. Dumas states that the Missions of California were under the charge of the Capucines (p. 285), where Ferry mentions the Franciscans (p. 257). Dumas apparently identified the two, whereas actually the Capucines were a branch of the Franciscans, and the Franciscans of California were not Capucines.[5]

Factual information about California may have been moderately interesting to many French readers even three years after the frenzy of '49, but it could hardly be expected actually to make the book sell. So, to pad out his volume and at the same time introduce some exciting adventures, Dumas inserted the several chapters (middle of X to end of XVII) dealing with the Frenchman's adventures while hunting wild game, and constituting altogether about one third of the book. Various reasons which impugn the authenticity of this whole section will be explained later, but for the bulk of Chapters XIII and XIV there can at least be no doubt, for this part was taken from another work of fiction.

In 1843, Captain Frederick Marryat published *The Travels and Romantic Adventures of Monsieur Violet among the Snake Indians and Wild Tribes of the Great Western Prairies*. At that time the gallant Captain had a considerable reputation, part of which still survives, as an author of novels dealing

with life at sea. By 1843, however, he was apparently near his dotage; certainly his *Monsieur Violet* is the worst novel that he ever wrote and might even be nominated as the worst novel that anyone ever wrote. Nevertheless it was, two years after its appearance, published in a French translation.[6] From this novel Dumas took five incidents.

This was so cleverly done that it allowed the thief to outface charges of plagiarism. The cleverness consists in having all the stories told by or with reference to the old hunter. If charged with plagiarism Dumas need then only have raised a countercharge that Marryat himself had merely taken the stories directly or indirectly from the true source, that is, Aluna.[7] Marryat could certainly never have pressed any charges without exposing himself, for he would either have had to admit that he invented his supposedly authentic stories or else would have been forced to reveal his own sources, for *Monsieur Violet* itself is notoriously plagiaristic.[8]

The material which Dumas took from Marryat consists of five stories dealing, respectively, with Aluna's experiences with a rattlesnake, his fight with a bear, his descriptions of alligators, his marvellous tale of a mythical animal called the "carvana" (Marryat's "cawana"), and his desperate encounter with four jaguars.[9] Actually this forms one of the most entertaining sections of the book, and one should note that Dumas's skill in telling the tales vastly exceed's Marryat's. In particular, the French novelist has tended to tone down each story and make it more realistic. In the incident of the rattlesnake, for instance, the serpent in Marryat's telling wraps itself around the leg of Monsieur Violet, bites him several times, and has to be cut away with a knife. In Dumas's account, Aluna, leaping across a stream, steps upon the snake and is bitten once. Monsieur Violet in revenge cuts the reptile into a "hundred pieces"; Aluna is content with three or four. Most interesting of all, Marryat tells the story of the "cawana" as sober fact; Dumas on the contrary makes it a tall tale told about the campfire by a western hunter, and at the end has his Frenchman add the comment: *"quant à moi, je ne voudrais pas répondre que la carvana ait jamais existé ailleurs que dans le cerveau d'Aluna"* (p. 252).

With Chapters XIII and XIV assigned to Marryat, the doubtful section consists of most of chapters X, XI, XII, XV, XVI, and XVII. In these parts occurs one actual borrowing from Ferry, in addition to many statements which seem to be based upon ideas derived from this author. The hypothesis which confronts us is that Dumas here wrote primarily from imagination, but also used Ferry's volume.

The passage actually borrowed consists of the description of the Sacramento River in Chapter XV, taken from Ferry (pp. 67-74). This differs from the other factual sections in that it is not a digression, but is woven in as part of the Frenchman's actual experience.

Many of the ideas of which Dumas made use in connection with the adven-

tures of the Frenchman while hunting are drawn from the map accompanying Ferry's volume. This map, based upon the work of De Mofras, is excellently drawn in general, and is accurate according to the geographical data of the time. Like many early maps it makes use of embellishments such as drawings of animals to enliven its trackless downs, and of descriptive captions to fill in sections where topographical features are not fully known.

Now, at the time when the hunting expedition is first proposed, Aluna wishes to visit *"la Mariposa et la vallée des Tulares"* (p. 189), districts which he characterizes as abounding in bear and bison, this in spite of the fact that Aluna as an experienced hunter should have known that there were no bison in California. By references to the map we see, however, the source of Dumas's idea, for the Mariposa River there occurs as the southernmost named tributary of the San Joaquin and immediately south of it in bold letters is noted: *"Vallée des Tulares."* Just beside the latter is a picture of a bison, and below it a note to the effect that the vicinity is rich in all kinds of game.

The Frenchman, however, thinks that they had better begin with less dangerous animals than bear and bison, and they accordingly decide to hunt toward the north in the country which Dumas describes as rolling prairies extending from Sonoma to Clear Lake (*Lac Laguna*) and from the former Russian colony (*"ancienne colonie russe"*) to the Sacramento. On the map we find these places noted in exactly the same words. The country included in this quadrilateral is, moreover, we should notice, inaccurately described by Dumas as rolling prairies when it is actually rough hill-country and mountain ranges, interspersed with some valleys. On the map, however, no mountain ranges occur, and only a slight suggestion of hills, while a little north of Clear Lake is the notation, *"Plaine très fertile. Belles Prairies."* Close by this note is a picture of two stags, which gave Dumas a suggestion for the type of game to be found in that region.

Further comparison of the hunting expedition with the map reveals several other suggestive similarities. Of them, one is of interest as explaining one of Dumas's few geographical blunders, his mention in Chapter XV of *"la rivière Young, la rivière Yaba [Yuba] ou la rivière de la Plume"* (p. 273). Now there is no Young River in California, and the stream most likely to be mentioned in connection with the Yuba and the Feather would be either the Bear or the American. In examining the map we find the explanation, for there the American is recorded as the *"Fourche Americaine."* The reader can hardly be expected to believe, without actually examining the map, that *"Fourche"* has been made to look almost exactly like "Young." This is actually so, however, and only a rough attempt to explain how it has happened will be made here. The second and third letters are the same. By a definite downward slip of the engraver's tool the "r" has ceased to be itself and has become a very passable "n." The "c" has been drawn with its points against a curve of the line representing the river so that it becomes a "g." The "he" being beyond this line of

the river and a little way separated is more or less out of the picture. The initial "F" shows a certain upward trend in its horizontal strokes, and in addition the meridian line, almost touching it, confuses the eye and makes a mistake easy. Add that the letters are small, and that this part of the map is covered with cross-linings representing the gold-bearing territory.

No attempt is made here to be exhaustive in detailing the information which Dumas drew from Ferry's book and map. Details can be added easily by anyone wishing to compare the two books. A few of the more conspicuous are here given: Dumas's easy reference to the *"routes suivies par les caravanes"* (one of which runs from Pyramid Lake to St. Louis, Missouri), his description of the Great Basin, his mention of the Wind River Mountains in connection with the Arkansas River, and of the Colorado River with the land of the Navajo Indians on its left bank—all can be traced to notations on the map.

For this section Dumas also used Ferry's text, and one of his definite mistakes is in fact to be credited to the source, i.e., his introduction of the moose (*élan*) among the animals killed (p. 214 ff.). Like the bison, the moose is not a native of California, but it is described by Ferry: *"L'élan de Californie* (moose-deer *des Americains*) *rivalise pour la taille avec le cerf"* (p. 188).[10]

In its turn the elk (*cerf*) is described by Ferry (p. 187) as being of the height of a large horse, a detail which may account for Dumas's words that the sounds of the approaching moose resembled those of a galloping horse. Another detail about the elk shows Dumas's general conservatism, for Ferry (p. 187) declares that the antlers often have a spread of two meters (*souvent 2 mètres*), but in the large elk which Dumas describes (p. 203) the spread is said only to be more than a meter and a half (*plus d'un mètre et demi*).

In another instance, however, Dumas seems to have thrown to the winds any conservatism, for he tells (p. 282) of a grizzly bear which, lassoed by thirty horsemen, drags men and horses together a distance of fifty paces. The only suggestion of this story in Ferry seems to be that a lassoed grizzly once pulled three horses (p. 182). Quite possibly a careless reading or memory is responsible for changing *trois* into *trente*.

If any further proof is needed that this section is essentially fiction, it can be supplied by the end of Chapter XVIII. Here a fight with Indians is mentioned. One of the hunters' horses is killed; one Indian is killed and another wounded. Now this is essentially the most exciting incident in the whole book, and yet it receives only briefest mention. If the Frenchman had really had this brush with the Indians, he would certainly have passed on more detail to the writer, eager to expand his book to an acceptable length. But if Dumas was writing from his own imagination, one can easily see that he would not have cared to run the risk of introducing too many mistakes in a book which he was going to pass on to the public as authentic.

Since the identification by name of the Frenchman who supplied Dumas with his reminiscences would be a matter of curious, and possibly of practical

interest, an attempt has been made to identify him, but with only partial success. The Frenchman states (p. 34; see also p. 62) that he participated as "*apprenti marin*" in the well-known exploring voyage of Admiral du Petit-Thouars. There is no reason to doubt this statement, and we may therefore confidently assume that his name is included as one of the 102 apprentice seamen listed in the published report of this voyage. A cross-check is furnished by the *California Courier* of September 18, 1850, which lists among property burned on Pacific Street, in the great fire of that morning: "Hotel Deuxchands, kept by a Frenchman named Louis, and owned by John Leland. Leland's loss, $4,000; Louis' loss, $1,000." Since the wine-shop kept by Dumas's Frenchman was located on Pacific Street and was also burned in this fire, one may reasonably identify it with the Hotel Deuxchands. Searching the list of apprentice seamen for the name Louis, one locates thirteen, and beyond this point the reviewer has been unable to go.[11]

In summation, the analysis of *Californie* shows it to be composed of three elements:

(1) A factual element, consisting of sections drawn directly and unimaginatively from Ferry's *Nouvelle Californie*. This includes Chapters IV (latter part), V, XI (first part), XVII (first part), XX. Part of Chapter XV might also be included here.

(2) A fictional element, consisting of sections based to some extent upon Marryat's *Monsieur Violet*, and upon Ferry's work. Chapters XIII and XIV draw from Marryat. Ferry is to some extent used as a source for Chapters X (latter part), XI (latter part), XII, XV, XVI, XVII.

(3) An authentic element, consisting of sections based upon the orally transmitted reminiscences of a Frenchman just returned from California. This includes Chapters I, II, III, IV (first part), VI, VII, VIII, IX, X (first part), XVIII, XIX.

Both for the general reader and for the historian this last element is the most important. For the reader it supplies a vivid account of one man's experiences on a voyage round the Horn, in San Francisco, and in the mines. For the historian the book supplies information about theatrical beginnings, about the early trade in women, and about various other conditions during most of 1850. Since this information is mingled in the same book with fiction, it must of course be used with caution, but since so much of the detail can be verified, a careful historian would not be justified in rejecting altogether the testimony of the book.

NOTES

1. There has not been, heretofore, any extended critical writing upon this work. Phil Townsend Hanna, in his Foreword to the American edition (Los Angeles, 1933), has made some interesting suggestions, but has not followed them further. The footnotes in this same edition, presumably by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur the translator, are explanatory,

and make no suggestion as to sources except that Dumas may have been familiar with the work of Duflot de Mofras (p. 46). Arthur F. Davidson in his *Alexandre Dumas* (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 405, lists the work under "Books of Travel" in his classification, not under "Fiction," thus apparently accepting it as authentic, but offering no evidence. The editions are most fully recorded in F. W. Reed's *Bibliography of Alexandre Dumas Père* (London, 1933). Reed adds the following comment: "A picturesque and realistic account of adventures in California in the days of the gold rush. Though written in the first person, it is hardly necessary to state that Dumas was not at any time in America. None the less this work is excellent; how he obtained his information is not known, but, written in his great years, it is another example of his wonderful ability to 'project' himself into the scenes of the times he wished to describe."

For this study the second French edition (1861) has been used, and page references are to this volume. The German and American translations, which contain a small amount of unimportant material included in the editions of 1852 and omitted in that of 1861, have also been consulted.

2. Sonora and American Camp, among the places visited by the Frenchman while in the mines, are well known. A note in the American edition (p. 63) suggests plausibly that "Passo del Pin" is the place known as Pine Log, but in Heckendorn and Wilson's *Miners & Business Men's Directory* for Tuolumne County (Columbia, 1856) I find the note: "During the year of '49, while mining was being carried on . . . at Paso del Pino." This camp was apparently near Columbia; it was probably not the same as Pine Log, for the latter place is mentioned several times in the same directory. Murphy Creek and Yaqui I have not been able to confirm, but the town of Murphys is only a short distance from the scenes of the Frenchman's mining, and that name may in earlier times have been associated with a stream. Yaqui is a plausible name in a district settled largely by Sonoranians.

3. On page 283 Aluna conceives the idea of going to hunt along the Mariposa and of not returning to San Francisco until about the middle of September (*vers la mi-septembre*). By this time it must have been, according to the evidence of the book, well past the middle of September.

4. For Chapters IV and V, see Ferry: Chapter II; for XI, Ferry: Chapter VII; for XVII, Ferry: Chapter XI; for XX, Ferry: Chapter XIV.

5. The question arises as to whether Dumas may have used for these factual sections other books of reference in addition to Ferry, e.g., De Mofras as suggested in the notes to the American edition (p. 46). In every case, however, the authorities mentioned by Dumas in his text have been previously cited by Ferry, so that Dumas merely reproduces what Ferry has already quoted. In this way Dumas was able, very cheaply, to give his work an appearance of erudition; this is an art which is even now not unknown. One footnote to the French edition (p. 294 ff.) appears to be drawn from some recent account, probably a news dispatch, of the disturbances in California in connection with the Vigilance Committee of 1851.

6. *M. Violette, ou Aventures d'un jeune emigré francais de 1830 . . . traduite par J. Robaglia* (Paris, 1845).

7. The character of Aluna appears only in the section dealing with the hunt, and is probably wholly fictional. The name does not seem to appear anywhere in the annals of early California. Aluna was supposed to be a Mexican, and we should remember that Mexicans were seldom hunters, although this was a natural enough supposition on Dumas's part.

8. Dumas's appropriations from Marryat need not surprise us; such borrowings were

in fact his common custom. As early as 1833 he had already established his reputation as a plagiarist well enough to be openly accused by Granier de Cassagnac. See L. Henry Lecomte: *Alexandre Dumas*, p. 207. The plagiarisms in *Monsieur Violet* have not been fully studied, but they are so obvious that even the Library of Congress card makes note of some of them.

9. The references follow. On the rattlesnake: Dumas, XIII; Marryat, XXIII. On the bear: Dumas, XIV; Marryat, XXXIV. On the alligators: Dumas, XIV; Marryat, XLIV. On the carvana: Dumas, XIV; Marryat, XLIV. On the jaguars: Dumas, XIV; Marryat, XXXIV

10. The American translation improperly renders *elan* as "elk"; it is "elk" only in the European sense, that is, the animal equivalent to the American "moose." On the other hand *cerf* and *biche* stand for the male and female of the English red-deer, and in British English might be rendered as "stag" (or "hart"), and "hind." Since these words are poetic in the United States, the proper translation of *cerf* and *biche* would in an American connotation be "bull-elk" and "cow-elk." The translator has rendered them as "deer," "buck" and "doe." She has also taken *chevreuil* as "goat," whereas in this case the animal meant was probably what we should call in America merely "deer."

11. The thirteen Louis's are: Barbier, J. L.; Duclos, L. E.; Gilard, M. L.; Guffroy, L. J.; Guilmoto, J. L.; Jean-Georges, L.; Langlois, B. L.; Lavalard, L. C.; Leplat, P. L. J.; Prévé, J. L.; Tanguy, P. L.; Vaillant, J. L.; Waltemann, L.

# THE FIRST STEAM VESSEL TO NAVIGATE SAN FRANCISCO BAY[1]

*By* John Haskell Kemble

On October 19, 1847, the bark *Naslednich*, belonging to the Russian American Company, put into San Francisco fifteen days out of Sitka. In reporting her arrival, the *Californian* remarked that, "We are informed that a steamboat, of about a small pony power as Boz would say, is securely packed up on board. . . ."[2] The boat appears to have been constructed at Sitka for the use of the governor of the Russian American Company, but in 1847 she was sold to William Alexander Leidesdorff, a prominent merchant of San Francisco.[3] Her new owner planned to use the steamer in his hide and tallow commerce on the shallow streams and sloughs leading into San Francisco Bay.[4]

In reality she was a steam launch, being only 37 feet long, with a 9-foot beam, a depth of 3½ feet, and a draft of 18 inches. The vessel was said to be well built, with her under-water body coppered and copper fastened. Her side wheels were driven by a "locomotive engine," and despite her rather discouraging experience on San Francisco Bay and the Sacramento River, it was estimated that with a competent engineer and a full head of steam she could make eight miles an hour. As an alternative to her engine, a passenger on her trip to Sacramento said that she could be rowed with four oars.[5] The inventory of articles belonging to the steamer mentions "1 sail," but there is no evidence as to how it was rigged. The same manuscript speaks of a cannon, which was used for signalling purposes, with its rammer and sponge, a candlestick and two lanterns, three "cushings for cabbin," one copper tea kettle, and a Russian flag.[6] The steamboat's cabin, which was described as being about the size of an ordinary omnibus, accommodated nine persons, who sat on benches on either side, but so close together that their knees touched. The boat was very "crank," and the arrangement of passengers in such positions as to keep her on an even keel was a delicate matter.[7] On her trial trip on San Francisco Bay, William D. M. Howard, who was described as a "man of Aldermanic proportions," was required to occupy the "post of honor immediately over the boiler" in order to keep the steamer in trim.[8] When she went up the Sacramento, Mrs. Gregson's baby is said to have been handed about in the cabin as ballast.[9]

The vessel was commanded by J. Howard Ackerman, at least at the time of her trip to Sonoma,[10] while the crew consisted of a Russian "who pretended to be an engineer," and a man who acted as cook, deck hand and fireman. On the trip to New Helvetia, the Indian pilot from Sutter's launch *Sacramento* was borrowed.[11]

While the steamer has been widely called "Sitka" or "Little Sitka," there is no evidence that she was so christened. During her career on the bay, she was referred to in the contemporary press as "the steamer" or "the pony power," the first mention of the name "Little Sitka" being at the time of her sinking.[12]

The vessel was made ready for service under the lee of Yerba Buena Island, and on November 15, 1847, she steamed over to the town of San Francisco, where "a company of gentlemen, marshaled by Leidesdorff, were waiting to join her for an excursion; and after being set on board and distributed according to the weight of each and the trim of the vessel, a swivel mounted in the bows was loaded and fired, and the first steamboat started out on the first excursion around Yerba Buena Island."[13] The trip was a success, and after two days the steamer left for Santa Clara to bring down a cargo of hides. It was reported, however, that she returned to San Francisco late the same evening, having been unable to stem the wind and tide.[14]

A trip to Sonoma's embarcadero, undertaken later in the month, was more successful. At a dinner given on board the steamboat on November 25, toasts were proposed by Jacob P. Leese, L. W. Boggs, General Vallejo and Lieutenant Colonel Prudon. In reporting the affair, the *Californian* remarked that "The good people of Sonoma were in raptures over the pony power."[15]

On November 25, 1847, the steamer left San Francisco "to astonish the natives up the Sacramento. . . ."[16] She carried a full complement of nine passengers including one woman, Mrs. Gregson, with a child in arms. While it was estimated that the vessel could run from San Francisco to Sacramento in 20 hours under favorable conditions, her trip on this occasion required 6 days, 7 hours. George McKinstry wrote that he went ashore seven miles below Sacramento and walked the remainder of the way, arriving seven hours before the steamer.[17]

The boat had not returned to San Francisco by December 18, and her adventures began to become the subject of attempts at humor in the press. The *California Star* reported that:

> It affords us the highest pleasure to be able to correct many curious drawn conclusions, and the predictions of many wiseacres, who are found more or less in every society. This can be better done by extracting from a letter, dated
>
> "Benicia, Dec. 13, 1847.
>
> "Mr. Smith arrived here today with his *ox team,* three days from New Helvetia; he brings information that a steamboat left the fort five days before he did with passengers for San Francisco. He understood on the river that the *'pony power'* would touch at Montezuma to *rest,* perhaps to *winter;* in the latter case, the passengers thought of engaging horses to bring them to Benicia, where they were sure of finding a *boat* to carry them to their place of destination."
>
> This is sufficient to give the lie to the rediculous whims of the anti-credulous, and more available to the interested in the welfare of her "numerous passengers" than a foolish belief in the nonsensical report, that, urged by pure philanthropy and a press of steam, she had gone into the mountains to the relief of the unheard of emigration; or, that she had "collapsed a flue" and all on deck gone down *below.* Another silly rumor prevalent

is, that in lieu of going up she had gone under some *eddy* in the mighty Sacramento; sincerely, though, she has been absent a longer time than would have been consumed by an *"old salt."*[18]

The date of the return of the steamer to San Francisco is not clear, though agreements with two Kanakas to serve Leidesdorff "in the Steamboat or on shore, or in Launches for the Term of four months to commence from date, for and in consideration of the sum of twelve dollars ($12) pr month . . ." which were signed on December 22, 1847, seems to indicate that the vessel was in San Francisco at the time.[19] George McKinstry wrote in 1860 that she did not return until February 11, 1848.[20]

On the morning of February 12, a "norther" was blowing itself out on San Francisco Bay, and though large vessels were not troubled by it, " 'Little Sitka' . . . had as much as she could do to keep her head above water long enough to say her prayers." Her low freeboard and lack of stability combined against her, and she was soon swamped by the waves. She sank with only the top of her stack showing above the waters of the bay, while her cabin and wheel houses went to pieces and drifted ashore. The *Californian* remarked that, "Thus perished the first steamer on the Bay, a mere toy, and a most dangerous one too. Should she be resuscitated by her owner we sincerely hope that none of our citizens will trust themselves with a passage beyond the 'flat' that she now rests upon."[21]

By February 16, the hull had been raised and brought to the beach, where the engine was removed.[22] After a thorough overhaul, the hull was launched on April 13, 1848, rigged as a schooner and named the "Rainbow." The engine lay unused for some time, but was reported to have found eventual service in a coffee grinder.[23]

The career of the first steam vessel on San Francisco Bay was little more than a series of experiments which can hardly be said to have been successful, but as a pioneer, if as nothing more, Leidesdorff's steamer deserves a place in the history of navigation in California.

## NOTES

1. The original outline for the history of Leidesdorff's steamer, together with much bibliographical aid have come from Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), V, 571-81.
2. *Californian,* San Francisco, October 20, 1847, p. 3, cols. 2 and 3.
3. McKinstry Papers, p. 42, MS in Bancroft Library.
4. *Daily Union,* Sacramento, May 19, 1858, p. 1, col. 5.
5. McKinstry Papers, p. 41.
6. Leidesdorff Papers, 325, MS in Henry E. Huntington Library.
7. McKinstry Papers, p. 43.
8. *Daily Union,* Sacramento, May 19, 1858, p. 1, col. 5.

9. McKinstry Papers, p. 43.

10. *Californian,* San Francisco, Dec. 1, 1847, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

11. *Californian, California Star,* 1847-1848, *passim. Californian,* San Francisco, Feb. 16, 1848, p. 2, col. 2.

12. McKinstry Papers, p. 42. *Daily Union,* Sacramento, May 19, 1858, p. 1, cols. 5-6.

13. *Daily Union,* Sacramento, May 19, 1858, p. 1, col. 5. See also *California Star,* San Francisco, Nov. 20, 1847, p. 2, col. 3.

14. *Daily Union,* Sacramento, May 19, 1858, p. 1, cols. 5-6.

15. *Californian,* San Francisco, Dec. 1, 1847, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

16. *Ibid.,* p. 2, cols. 1-2.

17. McKinstry Papers, p. 41.

18. *California Star,* San Francisco, Dec. 18, 1847, p. 2, col. 3.

19. Leidesdorff Papers, 369, 371, Henry E. Huntington Library.

20. *Daily Union,* Sacramento, July 25, 1860, in McKinstry Papers, p. 44, Bancroft Library.

21. *Californian,* San Francisco, Feb. 16, 1848, p. 2, col. 2.

22. *Ibid.,* p. 2, col. 2. *Daily Union,* Sacramento, July 25, 1860, in McKinstry Papers, p. 44, Bancroft Library.

23. *Californian,* San Francisco, Apr. 19, 1848, p. 2, col. 3. *California Star,* San Francisco, Apr. 15, 1848, p. 2, col. 4. *Daily Union,* Sacramento, May 19, 1858, p. 1, col. 6. *Ibid.,* July 25, 1860, in McKinstry Papers, p. 44.

VAQUERO LASSOING A STEER

Mission San Jose in the background.

This [illegible] of William Smyth's drawing is the only California view to appear

# THE STORY OF SAN JOSE, 1777-1869

*California's First Pueblo*

*By* Oscar Osburn Winther

Chapter III

## AMERICAN CONQUEST AND DISCOVERY OF GOLD

### MILITARY OCCUPATION OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

In 1835, Andrew Jackson, the first president of the United States to express officially a definite interest in California, made an unsuccessful attempt to purchase beautiful and strategic San Francisco Bay from Mexico. The desirability of acquiring either a part or the whole of California became more evident after "Old Hickory's" day. The appearance in the region of such official American exploring parties as those led by Slacum, Wilkes, and Frémont gives further proof that the Government of the United States was not unmindful of the possibilities of this province on the Pacific slope.[1] The attraction of California for Americans increased so rapidly that by 1845 Secretary of State James Buchanan was able to write Thomas O. Larkin, the United States Consul at Monterey, that "Whilst the President will make no effort and use no influence to induce California to become one of the free and independent States of this Union, yet if the people should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren, whenever this can be done without affording Mexico just cause of complaint."[2]

Neither the Mexican authorities in the capital nor those in California welcomed these American overtures. But the number of American settlers in this province grew steadily. Pio Pico, governor of California, referred in a speech to the threatening "hordes of Yankee immigrants who have already begun to flock into our country, and whose progress we cannot arrest. Already have the wagons of that perfidious people scaled the almost inaccessible summits of the Sierra Nevada, crossed the entire continent and penetrated the fruitful valley of the Sacramento."[3]

The relations between the two governments and their peoples, which became continually more strained, were the cause of the famous Bear Flag Revolt. On June 14, 1846, a band of more than thirty Americans, having decided to seize Sonoma, surrounded the house of the Mexican General, Mariano G. Vallejo, who lived in the town, and demanded his surrender. The General, unable to resist the attack of the Americans, finally consented to come to terms with them. The victors hastily painted a star, a grizzly bear, and the words "Cali-

fornia Republic" on a white cloth, and raised the new standard over the town.

The arrival at Monterey of the American commander of the Pacific fleet, Commodore John D. Sloat, who had in the meantime heard that the United States had declared war on Mexico, prevented the Bear Flaggers, as these rebels were called, from having to endure a long struggle with the Mexicans. Sloat entered Monterey Bay on July 2, 1846, and five days later raised the Stars and Stripes above the custom-house of that town, and declared that California was annexed to the United States. Flag raisings soon followed at San Francisco, Sonoma, and Sutter's Fort, and it seemed for a while as if the Americans had gained their principal objectives with scarcely any loss of blood.[4]

Unfortunately, trouble was brewing. Our story now turns to San Jose and its vicinity. Wishing to make the Bear Flag Revolt more effective, Captain Thomas Fallon of Santa Cruz raised a force of nineteen men and crossed the Santa Cruz mountains into the Santa Clara Valley. Fallon dodged Colonel José Castro, the acting commander of the Mexican forces stationed at Santa Clara, and awaited the arrival of Colonel John C. Frémont.

On July 9, Castro, happening to be on what is now Market Street in San Jose, received the disconcerting news of the American occupation of Monterey. The Commander is reported to have cried out to his soldiers: "I am going to Mexico! All you who wish to follow me, right-about face! All that wish to remain, can go to their homes."[5] A very small force decided to follow Castro who left San Jose and started to march to Mexico on the same day, taking with him Charles M. Weber as a prisoner. When he heard that real war had begun and that Castro had left for the South, Captain Fallon marched at once on San Jose. He entered the pueblo July 11, and took possession of the *juzgado* (court house). Fallon arrested Dolores Pacheco, the *alcalde*, and after ordering him to surrender the keys to the archives, wrote the following dispatch to Captain John B. Montgomery of the U. S. ship *Portsmouth* at San Francisco: "I have arrived here with nineteen men, with the expectation of joining Capt. Frémont . . . we are at your command if you wish we will hoist the American Flag and protect it here."[6] Montgomery replied: ". . . if you think that your present force . . . will be sufficient to that end, I would recommend to you by all means to do as you propose."[7] Fallon, however, did not wait until he had received this answer, for on July 13, the same day that Montgomery sent his reply, the Captain received a flag from Sloat. This flag, the first official American banner to float in the Santa Clara Valley, was immediately raised above the *juzgado*.[8]

After this ceremony, Fallon delivered the keys of the archives to James Stokes, the new magistrate, and left with his company to meet Frémont at Mission San Juan Bautista. At San Juan the forces were combined and taken to Monterey where Fallon disbanded his troops and joined the Frémont expedition setting sail at that time for San Diego.

Charles Weber, who had been released in Los Angeles by Castro in August, returned to San Jose. Weber and John M. Murphy, now made lieutenants, raised a local company with headquarters in an adobe building in the rear of Frank Lightstone's residence on Santa Clara Street. This company performed scout service until November when Lieutenant Pinkney of the U. S. ship *Savannah* brought a number of men to San Jose and established a regular military post in the pueblo. There, after erecting breastworks around the *juzgado*, he placed sentinels on duty to watch for the enemy. And with good reason! Castro was gone, but Colonel Francisco Sanchez, another Mexican commander, with a force of about a hundred men still remained on the peninsula. These Mexican troops made their presence felt on December 8, 1846, when Lieutenant W. A. Bartlett, then acting as *alcalde* at Yerba Buena, and a party from the sloop-of-war *Warren* were captured while in search of beef for the American troops.[9]

The anxiety at San Jose over this Mexican *coup* caused Weber and his company to leave the pueblo either to try to find the enemy or to secure reinforcements. During Weber's absence the elusive Sanchez and his men took up their position on the Almaden road, threatening to attack Pinkney. Sanchez, however, finally decided not to risk battle, and delayed just long enough for Weber to obtain reinforcements from Captain Ward Marston of the frigate *Savannah* at San Francisco. On December 29, a force of one hundred and one men, under Marston's command, marched south from San Francisco to relieve Pinkney.

The opposing forces met on January 2, 1847, within sight of Mission Santa Clara and of San Jose. The troops of Sanchez retreated and sued for an armistice, after two or three hours of fighting, during which four Mexicans were killed and five Mexicans and two Americans wounded. The victors demanded unconditional surrender. Six days later, on January 8, Sanchez reluctantly accepted the American terms of peace. This American victory, known as the Battle of Santa Clara, ended the war in Northern California.[10]

## FROM MILITARY RULE TO CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

The official raising of the American flag at San Jose and in other parts of California meant the end of Mexican jurisdiction over this region, even though the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which ended the Mexican War was not signed until February 2, 1848. The problem facing American authorities after the conquest of California was to decide what kind of government was to be instituted there. As early as June 6, 1846, Secretary of War William Marcy wrote to General Stephen W. Kearny stating that if Alta California were conquered "temporary civil government" was to be established "therein—abolishing all arbitrary restrictions that may exist, so far as it may be done with safety."[11] In his annual message to Congress six months later, President Polk reported that these instructions had been carried out. "By the laws of nations," the president stated, "a conquered territory is subject to be gov-

erned by the conqueror during his military possession. . . . This right has been exercised," Polk continued, "and this duty performed, by our military and naval commanders, by the establishment of temporary governments . . . assimilating them so far as practicable to the free institutions of our own country."[12] The administration's policy, which naturally affected San Jose, was opposed in Congress; but, since Congress failed to provide a substitute, it may be said that military rule existed in California from the outbreak of hostilities there until the adoption of a state constitution in 1849.[13]

The military governors of California paid little attention to local government over which the *alcaldes* had more control than ever. Under Mexican rule the *alcalde* had jurisdiction over a pueblo, or over a district; but, during the period of military rule, this official frequently exercised authority over two or more districts.[14] The military was supposed to provide the *alcalde* of San Jose with enough guards for local needs. Because this was not done, marauding and other disturbances were not uncommon between 1846 and 1850. Three men were hanged in San Jose for robbery toward the end of 1848.[15]

Military rule was not entirely satisfactory. Demands for a constitutional convention were made as early as 1847. A mass meeting held at San Jose, December 11, 1848, resulted in the first serious proposals for such a body. Citizens of the community gathered in the *alcalde's* office, and recommended that a convention be held in their *pueblo* on the second Monday of January, 1849. Not until June 3, 1849, however, did General Bennet Riley, the last of the military governors of California, issue a proclamation calling for a constitutional convention to take place, not at San Jose, but at Monterey, September 1, 1849.[16] The convention met as ordered (with seven delegates from San Jose), [17] a constitution was drawn up, and, on November 13, 1849, this fundamental document was approved by the voters of California. At the election which decided the fate of the constitution, votes were also cast for officers for the State to be organized in accordance with its terms, with the provision that, if the constitution were adopted, the legislature should meet on December 15, 1849, at San Jose, which was to become the first capital of the State of California.[18]

## SAN JOSE AND THE GOLD RUSH

On January 24, 1848, James W. Marshall discovered gold in the south fork of the American River. As soon as the discovery was verified, there was hardly an able-bodied man in Santa Clara Valley, writes Hall, who did not leave his farm, his business, or his job, to hunt gold. So many left the Valley for the diggings during the summer of 1848, that the region was probably not sufficiently protected from the depredations of Indians and outlaws. Even the crops sown during the winter of 1847-48 were left unharvested, adds this local historian, while cattle, horses, and hogs were turned loose to graze at will upon the fields of grain.[19]

The scarcity of men in San Jose is verified by Chester Lyman who visited the pueblo in June, 1848. Lyman records in his diary for June 2 that a local rancher wanted him to survey a piece of property, but says: "I can get no hands on acc't of the Gold fever, which increases daily. Wagons & pack animals are constantly passing thitherward."[20] Lyman adds that a temperance meeting was called in the pueblo for June 4, but "The Town [was] so depopulated by the Gold fever not many [were] present except from Sta Cruz on their way up."[21]

Scarcely a person in San Jose realized that the greatest money making opportunity lay, not in the gold fields, but at his very doorstep. The town lay directly across paths leading to both the northern and the southern mines and could easily serve as a supply station for thousands of argonauts who were soon to make their way to the diggings. However, by the winter of 1848-49, many of the local men who had returned from the mines during the rainy season became aware of this opportunity.[22] Immigrants had already begun to arrive in large numbers from Oregon, Mexico, the Sandwich Islands, and South America. The effect upon San Jose of the arrival of these immigrants has been described by Jacques Antoine Moerenhout, the French Consul at Monterey, in a letter dated November 25, 1848: "There are no longer houses enough at the Pueblo of San Jose to lodge all the foreigners and when the rainy season obliges a large number of those who are still at the Placer to return, many people will be without shelter, and, what is more serious, there will not be food enough for them. At Yerba Buena and at the Pueblo of San Jose, houses and land rent for exorbitant prices."[23]

William R. Ryan, who came to San Jose at this same time, stresses the business possibilities of this center: "We entered the shop of a German named Weaver [Charles M. Weber], who had already realized more by the gold mania than any man in the surrounding country. He had been greatly embarrassed in his business, previous to the discovery of the mines, but had since engaged in a number of extensive speculations connected with the provision trade and dry goods, by which, in the course of a few months, he had realized an ample fortune."[24] Ryan also tells about a local miller who likewise was making money supplying miners with flour. "I was not a little surprised to find a Yankee mill, a Yankee miller, and a Yankee yoke of oxen . . ." adds Ryan. "The miller, a tall, good-natured looking fellow, sold us the flour we required at a very reasonable price, and informed us, in answer to our inquiries, that his employer was making a rapid fortune, as there was a great demand for flour, and he had the best mill in the country."[25]

The first mad rush to the gold fields brought about a rejuvenation of San Jose, rousing the town from a sleepy existence of nearly three-quarters of a century. The exhilaration of the gold fever brought with it a stirring of the new Yankee spirit, which started the old pueblo on a new road to growth and expansion.

The boom years of 1848-49, however, brought to San Jose the usual round of games of chance, drinking, and general lawlessness. Moerenhout observed as early as November, 1848, that gambling had increased to a "truly frightful extent," that at Yerba Buena, San Jose, and at Monterey "every public house, every saloon, is a den where gambling goes on night and day and where very large sums are put at risk."[26] A murder and a public hanging occurred in the pueblo in 1849, and so numerous did murders and holdups become in San Jose that the local historian Hall has ironically written: "If all had been caught and convicted that deserved the halter, the hangman would have had no reason to complain of inactivity."[27]

California passed through a violent period of transition between the time of the Bear Flag Revolt, June 14, 1846, and the meeting of the first duly elected State legislature at San Jose, December 15, 1849. During these three and a half years the attempt was made to establish an independent California republic, and the military occupation and annexation of California was undertaken by the United States. Civil affairs were controlled by the military authorities. And finally, the discovery of gold revolutionized the whole economic and social order of the recently-conquered territory. Each of these changes affected San Jose. The pueblo played a significant part in the military operations of 1846; it carried on successfully under the rule of the *alcaldes;* it assumed a new life and vigor because of the Gold Rush.

## "THE LEGISLATURE OF A THOUSAND DRINKS"

San Jose was no longer the drowsy little Spanish pueblo on the Guadalupe. Not only had the gold rush turned it into a bustling trading center, but, as the half-century was drawing to its close, San Jose was made the capital of a large, new region which belonged to the United States. No massive, bronze capitol dome loomed high in the sky to catch the eye of the traveler, but there was a State House, an adobe building, erected on the east side of Market Plaza between San Fernando and San Antonio streets especially for California's first legislature. This structure was sixty feet long, forty feet wide, and two stories high, with a piazza where the legislators could lounge.[28]

The members of the legislature assembled here on December 15, 1849. The only part of the building finished by the opening date was the second floor, and this was taken over by the thirty-six assemblymen. The sixteen senators, not finding their unfinished quarters to their liking, moved temporarily to the home of Isaac Branham on the southwest corner of the Plaza.[29] When the first floor was completed, the senators returned to the quarters assigned to them. William Kelly, an English observer, has given the following description of the two chambers:

> . . . the Senate, or Upper House, occupy the lower apartment, which is a large, ill-lit, badly ventilated room, with a low ceiling, and a rough railing a little inside the door, beyond which none but the elect may pass. Each member had a rush-bottomed arm-chair,

and a small desk with stationery, that was not in much requisition. At the further end, the Speaker was perched in a species of pulpit; the floor was covered with a number of little carpets, of various shapes and patterns, looking as if every member contributed a patch to make up the robe, which had quite a mosaic appearance, the idea of antiquity being assisted by the threadbare state of the whole. A slip of paper was stuck with wafers on the door as you entered, labelled "wait for a pause," reminding me of the familiar inscriptions on those of the billiard-rooms at home, "wait for the stroke," which, from the tumult inside, would be the more apposite of the two, from the great probability of its ending in blows. The other apartment is precisely the same size, but has the advantage of greater loftiness, and exhibits at once the difference of grade betwixt the two bodies in the style of furniture—plain common chairs, flat deal tables, and a strip of matting thrown where the feet are erroneously supposed to rest, being the extent of accommodation, a paltry difference at best, and as it appeared to me, at variance with the republican doctrine of equality, and the "genius of free institutions." A similar notice was struck on this door; but were I to wait at the threshold of either house for a pause, I should wait for the daily adjournment, for the noise and jabbering was as incessant as the twittering of a flock of swallows chatting over their intended migration.[30]

The first California legislature has been ridiculed and criticized because of its extreme informality. But how could it be dignified and pompous under the circumstances? Kelly's vivid description of the State House is equalled only by his impression of its occupants:

Nothing can be more remote from the regularity, decency, or decorum of deliberative assemblies, than the proceedings of these bodies; there was no order of debate or system of discussion, but a turbulent dinning colloquy, made up of motions, interruptions, assertions, and contradictions; several members generally on their legs at the same time, and those with legs on the tables, adding to the tumult by the music of their heels. I never could catch the faintest idea of the subject under consideration, nor is it possible that the merits of any measure can be sifted under such a species of discussion. They meet about ten o'clock A. M., and are let loose for dinner at one o'clock, when they come out with a rush, like so many overgrown school boys. It is unnecessary to add, that smoking, chewing, and whittling, do not constitute an infraction of the rules of either house, privileges that are accorded also to a squad of slip-shod clerks or messengers who loll about the stores, making a *tout ensemble* really unique, and entirely characteristic.[31]

The problem of providing suitable living accommodations for the politicians who came to San Jose proved as difficult as the provision of an adequate meeting place for the legislature. Most of the lawmakers crowded into the City Hotel, a frame building on First Street just opposite Pat Welch's livery stable.[32] Each legislator received sixteen dollars a day during the session;[33] but when dinners were served at two dollars and up with potatoes as the main course, and when the boiled eggs for breakfast cost fifty cents apiece, they probably found it difficult to make ends meet.[34]

Crowded and uncomfortable as were conditions in this new and picturesque capital of California, the community at least tried to amuse itself glamourously. At one time the citizens offered to stage a grand ball in honor of their distinguished visitors. Because of the shortage of local women, the country was "raked for Señoritas" who, on the appointed night, made their appearance

at the Assembly Hall and danced and imbibed with the solons of the region.[35]

"Now and then was given a sly wink of the eye . . . as the señoritas in the whirl of the dance showed their red and their yellow flannel petticoats," writes Hall, and, as if to apologize for the local belles, the historian adds that "if the natives were not so fashionable in their under or outer dress, they were certainly graceful in their motion."[36]

And of the legislators Hall writes: "They were good drinkers—they drank like men. If they could not *stand* the ceremony on any particular occasion, they would *lie* down to it with a becoming grace. I knew one to be laid out, with a white sheet spread over him, and six lighted candles around him. He appeared to be in the spirit land." This praiseworthy hero caused California's first body of lawmakers to receive the name of the "Legislature of a Thousand Drinks." Its apologist says: "I never heard one of them deny that the baptismal name was improperly bestowed upon them."[37]

Drinking and gaiety did not end with the grand ball. The candidates for the United States Senate are reported to have kept open houses where bibulous partizans continuously toasted their health and success. And during the evening a fandango usually cheered the weary legislators after strenuous hours of deliberations.[38]

Only two enactments of the first legislature directly affected San Jose. The first was an act passed March 27, 1850, incorporating San Jose as a city.[39] The second, one which proved to be a major disappointment to the community, was an act providing for the removal of the capital from San Jose to Vallejo. There the second session opened as agreed, but, because of lack of accommodations, it returned to San Jose to complete its deliberations.[40] This temporary return of the legislature meant little, for San Jose was never thereafter the capital of California. When the removal was contemplated, Ernest de Massey, a Frenchman who was then spending some time in the town, probably voiced the opinion of many local citizens by writing: "When the capital is moved . . . San José . . . will lose much of its importance, for San José will never be more than a third-rate city. Its main attraction," the Frenchman prophesied, "will be its pleasant location, its commerce, and its agricultural possibilities, which will make it a small business center."[41]

## Chapter IV

## THE FIFTIES

### SAN JOSE BECOMES A CITY

The act of the first California legislature incorporating San Jose as a city on March 27, 1850 was only one of the evidences of the changing character of the sleepy pueblo on the Guadalupe. The American conquest, the gold rush, and the immigration of the Yankees had transformed San Jose. Ernest de Massey,

the Frenchman who visited this newly awakened community in the late summer of 1850, states that about three thousand people were then living there.[1]

In appearance San Jose was still the unpretentious pueblo. "A few picturesque wooden houses dot the outskirts," De Massey wrote, while old adobes of Spanish days were almost hidden in "a jumble of wooden shacks and tents." Business houses were erected on the main street, which cut the recently incorporated city in two.[2] Trade must have lagged during the day for the Frenchman tells us there was little activity on the main thoroughfare except in the evening. A resident at the time saw cattle and horses roaming the streets at will. The pedestrian, who did not even enjoy the convenience of a sidewalk, had to pick his way about as best he could.[3]

In the evening the French visitor had a chance to see the motley population, made up of Mexicans, Peruvians, Chileans, Indians, and Californians, swarm along the main street. He tells of the concessions and amusements, of the gambling and noisy merry-making, and of the general popularity of the *café-chantants* [music-halls] and the games of chance,[4] to which the people were called by the "martial strains" of music. The young men and women enjoyed taking part in the lively fandango. "The difference in language in some degree prohibited free exchange of ideas between the two sexes, but a few words, a little imagination and signs made one understood. . . ."[5]

The inhabitants of San Jose in the fifties were frequent spectators at bull and bear fights. The local toreadors usually performed for their enthusiastic followers on Sundays either in St. James or Market square.[6] One of the exciting sporting events of 1850 was a horse race with a stake of ten thousand dollars, scheduled to take place on Easter Monday. An American named Hudspeth put up one horse, and the popular Mexican sportsman Don Emanuel Pico, another. Interest was at a high pitch; the betting was reckless. Not only was Easter Monday the day of the race, but it was a holiday and the chosen date for the selection of all new officials in accordance with the provisions of the new California constitution, "so that we had beaux and belles tricked out in all their finery, sporting characters clamorously wagering, and politicians zealously canvassing for their various friends,—making up a medley of excitement, bustle, and interest, that never before had a parallel in this simple city."[7]

The horse race took place first. The buzzing crowds made their way to the course where they were to witness the victory of the American nag "looking like a pampered sire, while the other appeared as if after a severe attack of influenza." The California immigrants who were drifting through San Jose at the time of the race are described by Kelly as "not even retaining the figleaf of decency or decorum." Before the great event took place several of them who were on horseback pushed back the excited spectators, especially the Mexicans. Those who attended the gay public ball in the evening were annoyed by the actions of some tipsy Americans who were thrown out of the hall where

the "lovely señoritas whirled past . . . in the giddy waltz, and gracefully glided through the mazes of the cotillion."[8]

The incorporation of San Jose as a city brought about changes in government. The *alcalde* gave way to the mayor and a city council replaced the *ayuntamiento*. The record of the first ten years of American rule has much to commend it, although complaint was made, in 1853, that San Jose was far from approaching the ideal of an incorporated city. "The filthy streets, the piles of sand and brickbats" had little appeal for the stranger, the *San Jose Telegraph* said in its attack on the "inefficient city government."[9] The officials did, however, try hard to keep their town from going into bankruptcy and fought to maintain as high a standard of public morals as possible. Laws closing establishments on Sunday were passed, and ordinances restricting gambling and amusements, such as bull fighting, were enacted during the first ten years of American control.[10]

The city council also passed measures providing for the improvement of the public health and the reduction of fire hazards within the city limits. Nor was the condition of the streets overlooked.[11] In 1853 the *Telegraph* noted that the Alameda was still "passable for light carriages and on horseback," although wagons stuck in occasional mudholes with which the *Telegraph* supposed the City government would not concern itself.[12]

Despite efforts to maintain law and order, San Jose fared no better than other frontier towns in the prevention of crime of all kinds, including murder. The citizens became so desperate that they even resorted to lynchings.[13]

After a temporary slump caused by the removal of the capital, the city continued to expand throughout the fifties. Five hotels were under construction in 1850[14] and at least two others were built before the close of the decade. Kelly stayed at the "Mansion House, a new hotel, built on the speculation of its being the stopping-place of the members of the senate and assembly . . . it is immeasurably the best hotel in California, fully equal to those in the States. . . ."[15]

Several of the hostelries of San Jose made known their attractions to the travelers of the fifties. In 1856 Hotel de Bordeaux advertised:

> Madam Martin respectfully presents her compliments to the public upon the beginning of the New Year, and is happy to inform them, that her well known Hotel is now in excellent preparation for comfortable accommodation of travelers and others, who may favor her house with their patronage.
>
> At the Bar of the Hotel de Bordeaux, will always be found, the choicest qualities of Wines, Liquors and Cigars, and a handsome Billiard Table in the saloon will add to the enjoyment of her customers.[16]

The Clinton House, called at one time the Price Hotel, declared itself ready to take care of its guests "in a style of comfort not to be surpassed by any Hotel in this city. The Table is lavishly supplied with the best viands and all other luxuries the market affords."[17] When the farmers in the vicinity were receiv-

ing seventy-five cents a bushel for their wheat, the hotels of San Jose were charging a dollar a meal for their food. Lodging was not expensive, however, accommodations for a night's rest usually costing no more than a dinner.[18]

The expansion of the city during the fifties made it necessary to organize business houses of many sorts to cater to the needs and vanities of the people. The new establishments included several grocery stores, a photograph gallery, a book shop, a drug store, one of the first jewelry stores in the state, a candy factory, a brewery, a bakery, a flour mill, a clothing store, a harness shop, and a distillery.[19] A certain Mr. Hawkins, who followed the calling of photographer, was recommended as a true artist not only by himself in his advertisements but by the paper which he patronized as well. Those interested could pose for their portrait at the "San Jose Daguerrean Room," or, if the state of their health was too precarious, at home.[20]

The truck gardeners of the vicinity, according to De Massey, fared well, so well, indeed, that the Frenchman decided to buy a tract of land. Potatoes brought twelve cents a pound, "a good cabbage, four francs; radishes, twelve cents; a melon, one dollar. Everything else is in proportion."[21]

The first newspaper to be published in the valley, the *California State Journal,* was founded in 1850. It was followed by the *San Jose Daily Argus,* the *San Jose Weekly Visitor* (which later became the *Santa Clara Register*) and the *San Jose Telegraph.*[22] The last two combined to form the *San Jose Telegraph and Santa Clara Register.*

Provisions for the education of the youth began to improve in the early years of American rule. In 1851 two private schools were founded, the San Jose Academy, organized by a Protestant minister, and the Catholic College of Notre Dame for girls.[23] The first common school was established in March, 1853.[24]

The zeal of those faithful to their obligations to the church did not die out with American occupation, although one visitor remarked that the people of San Jose continued to combine recreation and piety as they had in the past, and that the good citizens could be seen "strolling along the noble alameda . . . in whose delicious shade devout reflections, and inspirations of sanctity, are wont to be invoked by pious pilgrims as they saunter along to the shrine of their religious duties. . . ."[25] The founding of a Baptist Church in the fifties gave more variety to the means of religious expression.[26]

## THE NEW ALMADEN QUICKSILVER MINE

The accidental discovery of quicksilver by the Mexicans in the range of hills now called Cuchilla de la Mina about thirteen miles south of San Jose was tremendously important in the economic development of Santa Clara Valley. For generations the Indians of the region had known of a cavern in Almaden Hill where they could get a vermillion substance, called by them *mohetka,* with which they smeared their bodies. But the white men thought nothing

about the *mohetka* until a young man named Secundino Robles discovered the cave in 1824, and was attracted by the red, heavy rock which he saw in it. The youth then told his father—Antonio Robles—of his strange discovery, and, after an examination of the rock, it was the father's belief that a silver mine had been uncovered. A fruitless attempt was made to mine the ore for silver, and not until 1845, when Andrés Castillero, a young Mexican cavalry officer, made some tests was it found that the red earth of Almaden Hill was not silver but cinnabar—the ore from which quicksilver is derived. The news of this discovery was welcomed everywhere, because of the Spanish monopoly on mercury which is so essential in the mining of gold and silver. Miners welcomed the news of the discovery. The inevitable disputes over claims arose, and it was not until late in 1847 that much quicksilver was extracted from the mine.[27] Reverend Walter Colton reported that in December, 1848, Alexander Forbes, then operating the mine by using two whaling kettles for furnaces as well as other makeshift devices, was extracting a hundred and fifty pounds of pure metal each day. "If this can be done with an apparatus intended only for trying blubber," Colton wrote, "a ton may be rolled from a capacious retort constructed for the purpose."[28] As gold mining developed in California and especially when it was found that quicksilver could be used to amalgamate fine gold, the New Almaden Mine was regarded as a San Jose industry and became one of America's leading enterprises.[29] The company is reported to have invested $387,000 by June, 1850,[30] and before two more years had passed a million dollars were represented in the tangible assets of the plant.[31] John Russell Bartlett visited New Almaden in 1852 and he has left the following description of it:

> New Almaden consists exclusively of the buildings belonging to the company which owns the quicksilver mine. It embraces furnaces, storehouses, dwelling-houses for the officers and laborers, offices, mechanics' shops, etc. Many of them are of wood; but a large and fine range of substantial brick buildings is now in the process of erection, to take the place of the wooden ones. The novelty of the business of extracting the quicksilver from the cinnabar, required a number of experiments, involving a very heavy expenditure; for there was but one other mine in the world, that of Almaden in Spain, where the operation was carried on on a large scale, and it could not be expected that the rival company like this, whose operation would effectually destroy the monopoly the latter had for ages enjoyed, would be permitted to derive any information from their long experience. Machinery of all kinds was therefore imported from England and the United States at enormous cost. . . . Six furnaces are now in operation reducing the ore, all of which seem to be alike, and of the most simple construction. . . .
>
> In the warehouse the metal is prepared for market. This is done by putting it into wrought iron flasks or canisters holding 75 pounds each. . . .These flasks, which weigh twenty-five pounds each, are all made in England, where I suppose they can be furnished much cheaper than in the United States. From the warehouse the flasks are transported by ox-carts to tidewater [Alviso], about twenty miles distant, whence they are shipped to San Francisco. The present (1852) price of the metal there is sixty cents a pound, a very great reduction from that which the quicksilver from Spain has commanded, though of equal quality. A shipment of a thousand flasks was lately made to Canton, by way of an

experiment. In China it is chiefly used in the manufacture of vermilion and other articles of commerce.[32]

The New Almaden was not the only quicksilver mine in Santa Clara County. The New Idria, the Enriquita and the Guadalupe mines[33] were unimportant except during the year 1859 when an injunction almost caused the New Almaden to cease operations.

The exact amount of quicksilver produced is not known but official estimates are nevertheless available for the period of 1850-1865 as follows:

PRODUCTION OF QUICKSILVER IN CALIFORNIA

1850-1865 INCLUSIVE[34]

| *Year* | *New Almaden* | *Other Mines* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1850 | 7,723 | ..... | 7,723 |
| 1851 | 27,779 | ..... | 27,779 |
| 1852 | 15,901 | 4,099 | 20,000 |
| 1853 | 22,284 | ..... | 22,284 |
| 1854 | 30,004 | ..... | 30,004 |
| 1855 | 29,142 | 3,858 | 33,000 |
| 1856 | 27,138 | 2,862 | 30,000 |
| 1857 | 28,204 | ..... | 28,204 |
| 1858 | 25,761 | 5,239 | 31,000 |
| 1859 | 1,294 | 11,706 | 13,000 |
| 1860 | 7,061 | 2,939 | 10,000 |
| 1861 | 34,429 | 571 | 35,000 |
| 1862 | 39,671 | 1,885 | 42,000 |
| 1863 | 32,803 | 6,876 | 40,531 |
| 1864 | 42,489 | 2,286 | 47,489 |
| 1865 | 47,194 | 2,261 | 53,000 |

Although the mines were not located within the city limits of San Jose, they contributed much to the prosperity of the community, which, during the fifties was considered not only a gateway to the gold mines, but a quicksilver depot as well. The New Almaden Mine employed about four hundred men—many of them from San Jose—toward the end of the decade. Increased production during the sixties probably called for additional help. So important was the New Almaden during these years that most strangers who came to San Jose visited it.[35] A study recently made by Leonard W. Ascher concludes:

> Certainly the New Almaden mine furnished quicksilver to the mines of California and Nevada at a price much lower than that which ruled prior to its entry into the market. Much of the bountiful production of silver was made possible by mercury from this famous California mine, and insofar as New Almaden quicksilver influenced the production of silver, and to the extent this enormous supply of silver was a factor of importance in the world monetary and economic history, just that much weight must be attached to the rôle played by the New Almaden mine.[36]

## STAGE-COACH DAYS

The first stage-coach line in California, with headquarters in San Jose, and operating between there and San Francisco, was established by John Whistman, or Whisman, in the autumn of 1849.[37] Whistman's equipment was, of course, not very elaborate, consisting chiefly of an old French omnibus drawn by poorly groomed mustangs and mules. Although the owner of the new line lacked suitable vehicles and horses, this enterprise soon enabled him to boast a nine-hour service between San Jose and San Francisco (although at irregular intervals) during the autumn of 1849, so long as his route remained dry.[38]

The extremely wet winter of 1849-50 compelled Whistman to limit his route during the rainy season to an occasional run to Alviso, a landing on the extreme southern arm of the Bay. Here his passengers could take boats for San Francisco and other ports. When spring came, the stage again traveled the old road along the peninsula.

Since the fare between San Jose and San Francisco was thirty-two dollars, or "two ounces," it was not surprising that others became interested in the stage-coach business. The firm of Ackley and Morrison, organized in April, 1850, soon offered the public a regular service over the peninsula route three times a week. Whistman could not keep up with such competition, and before the end of the summer disposed of his line of two experienced men, Warren F. Hall and Jared B. Crandall. It was not long before they were to become popular and influential figures in the stage-coach business in northern California.[39]

Service on the peninsula was well established by 1851. Hall and Crandall had purchased a ranch at Mountain View where, according to one of the first drivers, more than five hundred horses were on hand by the spring of that year for the transportation of passengers and baggage.[40] In May, the firm was given a four-year contract by which it agreed to make three round trips each week to carry mail between San Francisco and San Jose. The contract provided for the use of six-horse coaches for which the United States Government would grant a compensation of six thousand dollars per annum.[41] The prospect for business was so encouraging that, by the summer of 1851, Hall and Crandall felt justified in announcing a daily, instead of tri-weekly service on the peninsula and a semi-weekly trip to Monterey. The fare was reduced by fifty per cent.[42]

Other changes and improvements were made in the San Jose stage-coach business, but the most significant was the establishment of the California Stage Company on January 1, 1854. This firm represented a merger, including the Hall and Crandall interests, of five-sixths of all the stage lines in California.[43]

The new company gave San Jose good connections with almost any part of California; it started a new daily line between San Jose and Oakland by way of Warm Springs, Mission San Jose, and Union City;[44] and it further reduced

the original thirty-two dollar rates, between San Jose and San Francisco to two dollars.[45]

The hardships and excitement of stage-coach travel were taken so much for granted that only a few of the early travelers who came to San Jose, have left us a description of their journeys in the Concord coaches[46] across the open fields of the peninsula to San Francisco or over the winding mountain trails to Santa Cruz and Monterey. But the account of Peter H. Burnett, the first governor of California is a classic:

> The State of California was admitted into the Union September 9, 1850. It so happened that I arrived in San Francisco, on my return from Sacramento City, the same day of the arrival of the steamer from Panama bringing the welcome intelligence of this event. . . . Next morning I left for San José on one of Crandall's stages. He was one of the celebrated stage-men of California, like Foss and Monk. He was a most excellent man, and a cool, kind, but determined and skillful driver. On this occasion he drove himself, and I occupied the top front seat beside him. There were then two rival stage-lines to San José, and this was the time to test their speed. After passing over the sandy road to the Mission there was some of the most rapid driving that I ever witnessed. The distance was some fifty miles, most of the route being over smooth, dry, hard prairie; and the drivers put their mustang teams to the utmost of their speed. As we flew past on our rapid course, the people flocked to the road to see what caused our fast driving and loud shouting. . . . I never can forget Crandall's race. He beat his competitor only a few moments.[47]

Lucy Foster Sexton, who has written the story of her family which pioneered in the Santa Clara Valley, does not tell such a thrilling tale of staging between San Jose and Santa Cruz with reference to the mail service performed by the stages. The author says: "The stages stopped at the towns with post offices, leaving the mail in boxes between. Driving up to farmers' boxes on tall poles, the bundles were thrown in, much as it is done on the railroad. The school children furnished the delivery." The "gaudily painted" vehicles used on this route, adds Lucy Sexton, were pulled by four lively horses in turn driven by "livelier drivers." Horses were usually changed about every fifteen miles at a saloon or country hotel.[48]

San Jose, while not a real port, was dependent upon water transportation during the fifties. About eight miles away was Alviso, the nearest landing. It took care of freight from San Jose and passengers as well. The first regular steam boats, which began to serve in 1850, were Captain Moran's *Firefly* and Captain Whitmore's *New Star*. They were soon followed by some of the largest stern-wheelers on the Bay.[49] The steamers, as well as the hotels and the photograph gallery, advertised in the newspaper:

> For Santa Clara and San Jose.—The new Steamer New [St]ar, Capt. E. Sampson, Jr., will leave Commercial Wharf on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, for the above places, stopping at Alviso, where stages will be in readiness to convey passengers to the above places immediately on arrival of the boat. The Steamer will commence on Friday next, leaving regularly at 9 o'clock, A. M. For freight or passage apply on board till further notice.

N. B. regular package express for San Jose will accompany this line, and all business submitted to their charge will receive prompt attention.[50]

The Forty-Niners had scarcely arrived in California, when they indicated their desire for adequate means of overland transportation. On July 2, 1857, the Government awarded a contract for overland stage-coach service to John Butterfield, William G. Fargo, and others. On September 15, 1858, the famous southern line had its beginning. San Jose became an important stopping place on this long trek, which had San Francisco for its western and Saint Joseph, Missouri for its eastern terminus. The arrival of the first overland stage from the East on October 10, 1858, is described by the *San Jose Telegraph*:

At 1 o'clock on Sunday morning 10th October, the loud, clear notes of the coachman's horns and the rapid rattling of the stage coach through the streets awakened many of our citizens from their repose. The unusual noise at such an hour alarmed the watchful guardians of yard and stable, and there arose simultaneously throughout the city the loud, deep note of warning from the whole canine race. The Southern Overland Mail which left St. Louis, Mo., on 16th [*sic*] September, had arrived, by way of El Paso, Tucson, and Los Angeles, and, quickly changing horses, passed on to San Francisco, arriving there at 7 o'clock in the morning.[51]

People from all over the valley gathered to observe this opening of a new era in transcontinental transportation at Santa Clara October 14, 1858. On this occasion, said the chairman in a speech, the citizens had gathered "to celebrate a new era about to dawn upon the prosperity of our Golden State. We meet this evening," he continued, "for the purpose of giving our cheerful hearts towards celebrating the first Overland postal route through our fair Valley, uniting, as it were, the mountains and plains to the sea; that we hail with unfeigned satisfaction the successful connecting of the Atlantic Hemisphere with the Western slope of our glorious Confederacy. . . ."[52]

The establishment of the Butterfield route made it possible to travel by land to almost any part of the Union. The day of isolation was at an end. This did not mean, however, there were no more difficulties to be overcome. Those who undertook such extensive developments of the stage-coach business worked under great handicaps. Roads were bad everywhere, and according to the *San Jose Telegraph*, those of Santa Clara county were the most wretched. In the opinion of that paper a traveler would always recognize this region by its roads.[53] Hall agreed with the *Telegraph*. "They [the roads] had not been worked," he says, "nor could the city or county afford to work them much." The absence of fences permitted wide roads, and as soon as one track became bad another one was started.[54] That travel by stage thrived during the fifties is a credit to the enterprise of such men as Whistman and Crandall who were able to provide satisfactory overland transportation for the people of San Jose and vicinity until the next decade when the railroad spanned the continent.

## PLANNING A RAILROAD

The construction of a railroad between San Jose and San Francisco was mentioned as early as the first winter of the Gold Rush. Even before the winter was over a group of citizens of San Jose employed William J. Lewis, a railroad engineer, to make a rough plan of such a road. Nothing more was done until January and February, 1851, when the general public began to show an interest in the project. Several public meetings were held at San Jose to discuss the construction of a railroad, the City Council gave its consent, and a few offered financial backing even at that early date. For a time it seemed as though the residents of the peninsula would soon have the convenience of train service. The State Legislature passed more favorable corporation laws and by the late summer of 1851 enough money had been subscribed to warrant definite action. On August 21, 1851, those who were financially interested met in San Jose to form the "Pacific and Atlantic Railroad Company." The chairman, E. O. Crosby, appointed Sherman Day as acting Secretary.[55] The fifty thousand dollars required by law for organization had been subscribed but the full amount had not yet been paid.[56] At a second meeting on September 6, the following Articles of Association were formally adopted:[57]

### "Articles of Association"

We the undersigned whose names are hereto subscribed, hereby Organize, form and become a Corporation and a Body Corporate, under and in pursuance of the provisions of an Act entitled "An Act to provide for the incorporation of Rail Road Companies" approved April 28, 1851—for the purposes of constructing, owning and maintaining a Rail Road from the City of San Jose in the County of Santa Clara to the City of San Francisco, Said Corporation to be known by the Style or name of the "Pacific and Atlantic Rail Road Company" for the term of fifty years from the day of the date hereof.

The Capital Stock of Said Corporation shall be and is hereby fixed at One Million, two hundred fifty thousand dollars, being the actual cost of Said Road, right of way, motive power and all other appurtenances to run said Road. . . .

The number of Directors, to manage the concerns of Said Corporation shall be thirteen. . . .

| | |
|---|---|
| Davis Divine | Peter Davis |
| Elisha O. Crosby | Innes C. Cobb |
| Wm. D. M. Howard | Peter Van Cameghen |
| Daniel Murphy | Sherman Day |
| Thomas O. Larkin | Joseph C. Palmer |
| S. J. Hensley | Joseph Aram |
| Jas. A. Forbes | |

The place from which the proposed Rail Road is to be constructed is some point in the City of San Jose, and the place to which Said Rail Road is to be constructed is some point in the city of San Francisco. . . .

The length of Said proposed Rail Road is, as nearly as can be ascertained, fifty-three miles.

The five persons who have been selected . . . are hereby designated to open books. . . .

Signed Sept. 6, 1851.

The newly elected directors met four days after the adoption of the Articles of Association at the Mansion House in San Jose and elected capable Judge Davis Divine president, James Alexander Forbes, vice-president, and Charles E. Allen, secretary.[58] The directors authorized their president to make a more extensive survey and to acquire land for a right of way. The results of the survey were later embodied in an official report.[59]

Determined efforts made to secure money for actual road construction through large banking houses in New York and in England were so disheartening that the president resigned on February 2, 1853, and not until April 22, 1853, when prospects were good for Congressional aid in the form of land grants,[60] was the company revived again. Joseph C. Palmer, a former director, was elected president and new names are to be found among the following directors:

D. N. Howard
George W. Wright
C. K. Garrison
Chas. Hopkins
I. N. Horner
C. L. Beard
E. O. Crosby
S. J. Hensley
C. T. Ryland
John Yontez
Peter Davis
Davis Divine
Chas. R. Band[61]

The old Articles of Association were revised, and on September 14, 1853, these articles specifying a capitalization of two million dollars, were filed with the Secretary of State in conformity with the new State corporation laws enacted earlier in the year. In deference to San Francisco interests the next formal meeting was held in San Francisco on January 12, 1854. C. L. Beard was elected president in place of Charles Palmer. Charles W. Cook was chosen vice-president, and Sherman Day was once more appointed secretary *pro tem.*[62] Shortly thereafter, Secretary Day issued this brief review of the accomplishments of the company:

> The Company has been organized according to the new law. . . . A careful survey, maps, and profiles have been made. . . . The right of way has been obtained for several miles. . . . The total amount of stock has been subscribed, thus enabling the Company to complete its permanent organization in compliance with the law. . . . A valuable public square, containing nearly eight acres, in the city of San Jose, has been granted to the Company for the use of a depot. . . .[63]

Everything was now ready for actual construction when the financial panic of 1854-55 again put an end to railroad building for several years.

## Chapter V

## THE RAILROAD COMES TO SAN JOSE

### THE EARLY SIXTIES

The future of San Jose did not look very bright at the opening of the sixties. The city on the Guadalupe was no longer the capital of the State. Much of the gold rush trade had ceased; many people had left town; the financial panic

seemed to have put an end to the dreams of a railroad. The population of San Jose was probably not more than three thousand in 1860.[1] The control of the city by the conservative class caused much of the glamor and vigor of the previous ten years to disappear. So self-righteous had the majority of the inhabitants of San Jose become that some of the citizens objected to the possible return of the capital to their city lest the successors to the members of the body of " 'a thousand drinks' that disgraced this city in the early history of our State" should be no more worthy than those devotees of the bottle.[2] The enactment of Sunday closing laws was not generally approved, according to the *Mercury*, which intimated that many "disconsolate suckers" were left in the town, and noted that an "absorbing public" was finding it difficult to find its spiritual consolation.[3]

The reactionary spirit was reflected in business. "You know that San Jose, as compared with other California towns of the same size," lamented the *Mercury*, "has the reputation of being a slow place. Everybody complains that business is dull, real estate low, the markets inactive, and little money in circulation." The editors of the paper believed that San Jose had lost interest in public enterprise. "We are dead, positively dead to our own interests," they said. "We are lacking in public spirit."[4]

San Jose was not, however, entirely devoid of life and activity. Horse-breaking still took place on Market Street, where one could see *vaqueros*, astride fractious horses "charging furiously from side to side of that street, and occasionally on the sidewalk, very much to the disgust as well as the danger of pedestrians."[5] Such sport was not generally popular, and it was the opinion of the *Mercury* that "If reckless individuals wish to ride bucking horses, they should be made to select some other site. . . ."[6] The city, once overrun with cattle, was now "overrun and surfeited with dogs,—large and small dogs, dogs aristocratic and mangy 'curs of low degree.' We can scarcely ascend a flight of stairs in the night . . .," wrote a newspaper reporter, "without stumbling over a pile of sausage in the rough. . . ."[7]

San Jose seemed to have slipped back into a somewhat somnolent state of existence. Bayard Taylor, who visited the city in the early sixties, went so far as to point out the resemblance between San Jose and many a New England town. "I think there is more quiet, more cultivation—possibly leisure—in San Jose," Taylor says, "than any other town of the same size in California." The well-known author was also impressed with the substantial homes, a great number of which were surrounded with beautiful gardens not surpassed anywhere.[8]

## THE COMPLETION OF THE RAILROAD

San Jose shared with the State in the business revival which the opening of the sixties brought. Better times were returning to California. Everyone was talking railroad. A fourth San Jose railroad company was organized in San Fran-

cisco on August 18, 1860. Judge T. Dame was elected president. The only San Jose representative was C. T. Ryland, one of the new directors. The future of the new company, with the modest title of the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad Company looked bright.[9] Its authorized stock was fixed at $2,000,000, of which Santa Clara County subscribed $200,000, San Mateo County, $100,000 and the city of San Francisco $300,000. Judge Dame estimated the cost of construction at $40,000 a mile. After the money was promised, work was actually started on the road in May 1861.[10] A progress report published October 30, 1862, states that the project had advanced so rapidly that on this date the road bed was graded and bridged, with ties distributed from San Jose to a point fourteen miles from San Francisco. Although the heavy cutting required for the rest of the distance had delayed construction there, the compilers of the report believed that the entire stretch would be ready for iron rails by January, 1863.[11]

Conditions brought about by the Civil War made the obtaining of iron rails almost impossible. Not only did the war cause a rise in the price of materials, but it impaired the credit of the company and made the securing of iron difficult.[12] However, Judge Dame was finally able to buy the rails and, by the close of 1863, the road was almost ready. "The work throughout has been the very best and most durable description," wrote the correspondent of the *Mercury*, "and nowhere in the State, has there been more care taken in grading a road than the one of which I speak. The masonry and stone work are of the very best kind, and the bridges, while the heaviest and safest materials have been used in their construction, are handsome looking structures."[13]

During the summer of 1863, rolling stock was placed on the road, and by October, service between San Francisco and Mayfield was offered the public. And the first train left San Jose for San Francisco on January 18, 1864, fulfilling the hopes of those who had worked toward this end for so many years. From then on the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad ran a regular train which left San Francisco at 4 P. M., and arrived at San Jose at 6:10 P. M. On the return trip the train left San Jose at 7:10 A. M., and reached San Francisco two hours and ten minutes later.[14]

The completion of the peninsula railroad was naturally a great day for San Jose. "A vast concourse of people gathered from the the surrounding countryside to honor the arrival of the iron horse. A big parade, with brass bands at its head followed by military companies from various towns, fire brigades, and other colorful units, stood ready to move through the flag decked city, the moment the train appeared. A dense mass of humanity thronged all parts of the spacious rooms," wrote the *Mercury*, "and the grounds about the buildings were gradually filled up." Speeches and the usual festivities of a gala day of the period interested the spectators after the parade was over.[15]

The editors of the *Mercury* understood the significance of the coming of rail transportation for the economic life of San Jose:

The completion of the Railroad to this city marks an important era in our local history. The link has been forged and the bonds welded, that shall unite more fully in one brotherhood and one common destiny, the beautiful city of the valley and the great commercial metropolis of the Pacific coast. This event affords us a theme for reflection: The tide of civilization has flowed steadily westward until it has reached the confines of the continent, and it now rolls back upon its parent waters, in waves of golden blessings tinged with silver tints, to cheer, and strengthen, and vitalize the nation's heart. It should be a source of pride and gratitude to every true American citizen—the thought that while we, as a nation, are passing through the fiery surges of a terrible war, we still have the power and the inclination to foster and cultivate the glorious arts of peace—that while with one hand we can build railroads and telegraphs, establish schools for the promotion of science, and wrest from the willing soil its rich treasures and bounteous harvests, with the other hand we can throttle the hounds that are tearing at the vitals of constitutional liberty. We hail the consummation of this enterprise as one of the proudest achievements of our State. The time is not far distant when the East shall join hands with the West across the continent, and interlock with iron fingers in bonds never more to be disengaged. . . .[16]

## BOOM YEARS

The completion of the Peninsula railroad gave San Jose a boom almost equal to that of the Gold Rush. Real estate rose in value, and the construction of public buildings increased measurably. "Real estate along the line, and everywhere, . . . has gone up amazingly," the *Mercury* wrote just before the last rails were laid.[17] Another observer states that several new hotels, among them the $150,000 Auzerais House—"California's best"—and other structures were being erected near the San Jose station during the winter of 1863-64.[18]

The *Mercury* was decidedly pessimistic at the beginning of the sixties, but was greatly encouraged by the new prospects for economic improvement. In November, 1863, the paper boasted that San Jose had seventy-seven merchandising establishments, eighteen hotels and restaurants, nine billiard tables, three bowling alleys, eight livery stables, three job wagons, and no less than forty-four bars (not including the unlicensed ones), where "chain lightning" was sold. Thirty-five general licenses for business had recently been issued, plus eight fractional licenses for a period of less than three months. "We might also add six churches," the *Mercury* remarks, so that "it will be seen that the Lord has one church to the devil's seven and one-third. . . ."[19]

Among the new business houses established in San Jose during 1864 were a silk factory, additional flour, lumber, and woolen mills, breweries, banks, dry goods stores, as well as other firms not listed during the previous decade.[20] The increase in the number of factories and stores stimulated interest in community projects and the construction of public buildings. During the late sixties a $200,000 court house was completed, new school houses, and more churches were built, a new water and sewerage system was installed, a city park was laid out, and new fire equipment acquired for the city.[21] The people took advantage of the arrival of the fire extinguisher to give themselves a good time. "The Empire's and Torrent's boys (volunteer fire companies) were out in full

force," the *Mercury* states, "with their ranks considerably extended by a number of firemen from Santa Clara." The "masheen," as the extinguisher was called, was decorated with wreaths and bouquets, and carried triumphantly through the principle streets. A "general jubilee" was later held at Live Oak Park.[22]

Agriculture was still the principal source of livelihood for San Jose. In 1866 the wheat crop of Santa Clara County was "sufficient to feed the entire State," wrote the *Argus*, remarking that the local mills were now sending much of their produce to San Francisco over the new railroad line.[23] The amount of grain and other products shipped from San Jose by the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad was "immense," according to the *Argus*. During the month of November, 1866, there had been shipped from the local depot 64,000 sacks of wheat, 100 barrels of flour, a day, and from five to eight hundred boxes of fruit a day, while the New Almaden Company shipped 3,700 flasks of quicksilver for the month. "A pretty good showing for one depot," added the *Argus*.[24]

That the export of agricultural products from San Jose continued to increase until the end of the decade is indicated by the following figures from the *Argus* for January 23, 1869:

> EXPORTS.—The following statement of the shipment of produce from the San Jose Depot, by the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad, during the year 1868, will give a faint idea of the resources of Santa Clara county. It must be remembered that the products of our county are also shipped from other points, viz.: Santa Clara, Lawrence's Station, Murphy's, Mountain View, Mayfield, and Alviso, and hence that the table will show only a moiety of the real amount of grain, etc. shipped from Santa Clara Valley to San Francisco. We put opposite the different articles a low estimate of their values, and not their retail price in San Francisco, as done by journals in some other parts of the State:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Cheese, 364,800 lbs. @ 15 cts | $ 54,602 |
> | Fruit, 58,660 boxes @ $1 | 58,660 |
> | Quicksilver, 44,319 flasks @ $30 | 1,329,570 |
> | Sheep, 14,880 @ $3 | 44,640 |
> | Hogs, 15,500 @ $8 | 124,000 |
> | Wheat, 261,594 sacks @ $2 | 523,188 |
> | Flour, 47,390 half-sacks @ $3 | 142,170 |
> | Total | $2,276,830 |
>
> We put wheat at $2.00, which is a fair average, as much of it sold from $2.25 to even a higher figure, and none for less than $1.80. Much of the fruit consisted of cherries and strawberries, and the best varieties of the former were sold in San Francisco at 30 and 40 cents per lb.; and the latter at from 10 to 25 cents per lb. The total shipments from all points in this county, we have no doubt, would increase the total above given more than four-fold.

Industries which had been prosperous before the days of the railroad became even more so afterward. Many improvements were made soon after the sixties in the New Almaden Mine which did a thriving business throughout

the decade.[26] Litigation which had interfered with operations for more than two years at the close of the fifties, had little effect upon the mine after 1860. The New Almaden Mine was sold to the New York Quicksilver Company for $1,750,000 in September, 1864. The New Almaden and other sources of quicksilver supply continued to provide adequately for the gold mining operations of the sixties, resulting as well in a half million annual profit to the owners.[28] By 1869 the New Almaden Company had an estate of 7,800 acres, according to Cronise, and about 2,000 people were employed in, or dependent on the mine for their living. The same year the company had 700 men and sometimes more on its payroll. The capital stock consisted of 100,000 shares valued at one hundred dollars each.[29]

The completion of the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad did not mean the end of railway construction in Santa Clara County. Even before the completion of the peninsula road, Judge Dame was directing the work of surveying and locating a route from San Jose to Stockton. Dame planned to connect San Jose with the Central Pacific at Sacramento.[30] Although the road was completed from San Jose north into Alameda County for a distance of twenty miles, by 1868, it had not yet been put into use. Connections with the Southern Pacific lines were to be made, however, early in the seventies.[31]

Packet lines continued to operate between San Francisco and Alviso and express companies, among which that of Wells Fargo and Company was then the most outstanding, increased their services to San Jose and vicinity. Stagecoach lines served those points not yet supplied with steam transportation. On May 10, 1869, the transcontinental railroad was completed, an achievement which meant the beginning of a new era for San Jose and the entire State of California.

## A PARTING GLIMPSE

By the close of the sixties San Jose was a well-established business center whose people could face the future with confidence. The spirit of *mañana*, the ruler of the inhabitants of Spanish and Mexican days, faded before the stir of American enthusiasm. The city had twice as large a population in 1869 as it had ten years earlier.[32] The editor of the *Mercury* was pleased to note that this increase had come about "without any fitful excitement" and at a time when the nation was passing through a great crisis;[33] they had faith that "incoming multitudes" would be attracted to the "beautiful Santa Clara Valley."[34] And, towards the middle of 1869, the *San Jose Daily Patriot* wrote with pride: "Building is actively going on in portions of the city. Handsome dwellings and neat cottages spring up every day. They are so numerous that no one thinks of noting them."[35]

The questionable character of a part of the community's conglomerate population and the loveliness of the surrounding countryside made it possible to describe the San Jose of the sixties either as "the Sodom of the Pacific" or

"the Eden of the World." One's point of view made all the difference. Hall, usually the sane historian, must have felt himself carried away with genuine local pride in 1869, as he thought about the present and the future of his home town: "Here nestles the Queen City," he wrote, . . . "in the lap of a luxuriant, elliptical valley"; it is the spot "where health seldom fails to paint the human cheek with the bloom of the morning rose."[36] The practical editors of the *Mercury* were more conservative: "Truly, San Jose is 'reaching out' with giant strides. With or without the Capital there is before us a bright future. In less than five years ours will be the second inland city of the State."[37]

The hopes of the *Mercury* were nearly fulfilled. With the close of the sixties, San Jose was well started towards becoming the "Garden City" of the State, and the commercial and business center of Santa Clara Valley. The inhabitants of the community had always depended upon products of the soil for their livelihood. The *pobladores* who went down the peninsula to found the pueblo of San Jose were sent by the Spanish Government to establish farms. The majority of those who came after likewise made their living either directly or indirectly from agricultural products. The ranchers of 1869, like their predecessors, considered grain their standard crop. They had not yet realized the full importance of fruit culture.

When our story of San Jose ends, the city was no longer the dull, isolated village it had been for so many decades. The twenty years of American rule had seen the excitement of the Gold Rush, the development of Almaden Mine, and the introduction of the iron horse. Even before the coming of the railroad, the outside world had been made more accessible through the establishment of good stage-coach and packet lines. And although it is true that the Spanish and Mexican days of San Jose may seem more romantic in retrospect than does the period of American occupancy, there is little doubt but that life became more prosperous and more pleasant for most of the people after the Yankees took control of California's oldest incorporated town, the Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe, and helped it grow into the thriving American city of San Jose.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. Caughey, *Pacific Coast*, pp. 269-70, 274-75.

2. John Bassett Moore, ed., *The Works of James Buchanan* (Philadelphia, 1909), VI, 277.

3. Revere, Joseph Warren, *A Tour of Duty in California* (New York, 1849), p. 25.

4. Caughey, *op. cit.*, Chap. XVII, "The Acquisition of California." See also Cleland, *California*, Chap. XV, "The Bear Flag Revolt."

5. Hall, *San Jose*, Chap. XI.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 150. See Fallon to Montgomery, Pueblo San Jose, July 12, 1846, in California Historical Society *Quarterly*, VIII (1929), 72.

A flag had been unofficially raised in San Jose before Fallon's arrival, but it had been cut down by sympathizers for the native Californians. See *ibid.*, p. 73.

7. Montgomery to Fallon, in *ibid.*, p. 73. Contemporary copies of this and the preceding letter are in the Templeton Crocker Collection, California Historical Society.

8. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

9. John Henry Brown, *The Early Days of San Francisco*, Chap. III.

10. Same as notes 4 and 5.

11. The quotation from Marcy is taken from Cardinal Goodwin, *The Establishment of State Government in California, 1846-1850* (New York, 1914), p. 18.

12. *Executive Documents*, 29th Congress, 2d Sess., No. 4, pp. 22-23.

13. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, Chap. II, "The Period of Military Rule."

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63.

15. Bancroft, *California*, V, 663-64.

16. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-79.

17. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

18. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-48.

19. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90.

20. Lyman, *Around the Horn*, p. 256.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

22. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

23. Abraham P. Nasatir, ed., "The French Consulate in California, 1843-1856: The Moerenhout Documents" in California Historical Society *Quarterly*, XIII (1934), 275. Hereafter cited as Moerenhout.

24. Ryan, *California*, I. 262.

25. *Ibid.*, I, 265.

26. Moerenhout, XIII, *loc. cit.*, p. 275.

27. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

28. *Pioneer*, San Jose, January 27, 1877. This State House was destroyed by fire April 29, 1853.

29. Cleland, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

30. William Kelly, *An Excursion to California* (London, 1851), II, 308-9.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-10.

32. *Pioneer*, January 27, 1877.

33. Cleland, *op. cit.*, p. 243, n.

34. *Pioneer*, January 27, 1877.

35. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

39. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, p. 297. For other minor enactments pertaining to San Jose, see *Journal of the Senate of the State of California* (San Jose, 1850), pp. 78, 290, 584.

40. Goodwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-7, n.

41. Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, tr., *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush: The Journal of Ernest de Massey, Argonaut of 1849* (San Francisco, 1927), p. 155. Hereafter cited as Massey, *Journal*.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Massey, *Journal*, p. 136.

2. *Ibid.*, 135.

3. M. H. Field, "Grandma Bascom's Story of San Jose in '49," in *The Overland Monthly*, IX (1887), 550.

4. Massey, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

5. *Pioneer*, Jan. 27, 1877.

6. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-29.

7. Kelly, *Excursion*, 303-4.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 305-8.

9. *San Jose Telegraph*, November 24, 1853.

10. William F. James and George H. McMurry, *History of San Jose California* (San Jose, 1933), pp. 93-94.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

12. *Telegraph*, December 8, 1853.

13. *Telegraph*, July 27, 1854.

14. James and McMurry, *op. cit.*, p. 86. See also *Santa Clara Register*, September 2, 1852.

15. Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

16. *Telegraph*, January 1, 1856.

17. *Telegraph*, January 29, 1856.

18. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1854.

19. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1856.

20. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1853; November 10, 1853.

21. Massey, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

22. *Pioneer*, January 27, 1877.

23. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 251; James and McMurry, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

24. H. S. Foote, ed., *Santa Clara County* (Chicago, 1888), p. 142; Hall, *op cit.*, p. 259.

25. Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

26. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

27. Leonard W. Ascher MS., Chap. II. The manuscript used here is the first draft of a Ph.D. thesis in Economics at the University of California entitled: "The Economic History of the New Almaden Quicksilver Mine, 1845-1863" (1934). P. S. Schneider has a history of the New Almaden Mine in preparation. Through the kindness of Mr. Schneider, use was also made of this manuscript.

28. Reverend Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (New York, 1850), p. 340.

29. Ascher MS.

30. George W. Pine, *Beyond the West* (Utica, N. Y., 1871), p. 427.

31. Ascher MS.

32. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua* (New York, 1854), II, 57-59. This account is accepted by Ascher as very reliable.

33. *San Jose Mercury*, January 22, 1862. See also Moerenhout, XIII, *loc. cit.*, p. 78.

34. Ascher MS, Chap. VII, p. 36. The figures are Randal's estimate which Ascher has

taken from George F. Becker, *Geology of Quicksilver Deposits on the Pacific Slope. United States Geologic Survey* (Washington, 1888), p. 10ff.

35. *Mercury,* May 23, 1867.

36. Ascher MS., Chap. VII, p. 37.

37. Oscar Osburn Winther, "Stage-Coach Days in California: Reminiscences of H. C. Ward," in California Historical Society *Quarterly,* XIII (1934), 256.

38. Oscar Osburn Winther, "Stage-Coach Service in Northern California, 1849-52," in *Pacific History Review,* III (1934), 387-88.

39. *Ibid.,* pp. 387-88.

40. Winther, "Stage-Coach Days," p. 257.

41. *House Documents,* 32d Cong., 2d Sess., No. 56.

42. Winther, "Stage-Coach Service," p. 389.

43. For a full account of this see Oscar Osburn Winther, "The Express and Stage-Coach Business in California" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1934), pp. 167-76.

44. *San Jose Telegraph,* September 6, 1855; July 22, 1856.

45. *California Chronicle,* San Francisco, January 13, 1855.

46. For an account of a Concord coach see Captain William Banning and George Hugh Banning, *Six Horses* (New York, 1928), pp. 23-26.

47. Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer* (New York, 1880), pp. 375-76.

48. [Lucy Ann Foster Sexton], *The Foster Family* (Santa Barbara, 1925), p. 213.

49. It was possible to navigate up some of the sloughs leading to San Jose, and while this was done to some extent Alviso remained the main port for San Jose. See James and McMurry, *San Jose,* p. 98. See Santa Clara *Register,* September 2, 1852, and *Telegraph,* November 3, 1853, for advertisements.

50. *Daily Argus,* San Jose, January 10, 1851. Sailing vessels were also used for passenger and freight service between Alviso and Bay ports. See Massey, *Journal,* pp. 352-53.

51. *Telegraph,* Oct. 13, 1858.

52. *Telegraph,* Oct. 20, 1858.

53. *Telegraph,* May 11, 1854.

54. Hall, p. 236. See also *Alta California,* San Francisco, December 6, 1851.

55. *Historical Sketch of the Preliminary Proceedings Relating to the San Jose and San Francisco Railroad. Being an Introduction to the Minutes of the Company and written by S[herman] Day.*

56. "Record of the San Jose and San Francisco Railroad Company," MS. California State Library, pp. 2, 5.

57. *Ibid.* See also *Alta,* September 8, 1851. There is a review article in *Evening Bulletin,* San Francisco, January 18, 1864.

58. Minutes for September 10. 1851.

59. *Ibid.; Bulletin,* January 18, 1864.

60. *Bulletin,* January 18, 1864.

61. Minutes for April 22, 1853.

62. Minutes for September 25, 1854; January 2, and 12, 1854. See also *Bulletin,* January 18, 1864.

63. Sherman Day, *Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Pacific and Atlantic Railroad Company* (San Francisco, 1854), p. 7.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Bayard Taylor estimated the population of San Jose at 2500 in 1860. See *Sacramento Union*, January 30, 1860. A more exact figure is the *San Jose Mercury* census of 1861, which places its population at 3,340 in that year.

2. *Mercury*, January 30, 1862.

3. *Ibid.*, August 8, 1861.

4. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1861.

5. *Ibid.*, January 16, 1862.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1861.

8. *Daily Union*, Sacramento, January 30, 1860.

9. *Mercury*, December 1, 1861.

10. *Bulletin*, January 18, 1864; *Mercury*, April 25, 1861.

11. *Mercury*, October 30, 1862.

12. *Bulletin*, January 18, 1864.

13. *Mercury*, October 20, 1862.

14. *Mercury*, January 21, 1864.

15. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1864.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1863.

18. William H. Knight, *Hand-Book Almanac for the Pacific States for 1864* (San Francisco, 1864), p. 226. See also James and McMurry, *San Jose*, p. 106.

19. *Mercury*, November 5, 1863.

20. *Argus*, October 20, 1866. See also Titus F. Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California* (San Francisco, 1868), p. 138.

21. James and McMurry, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-13.

22. *Mercury*, June 6, 1867.

23. *Argus*, September 22, 1866.

24. *Argus*, December 1, 1866.

25. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1869.

26. *Mercury*, May 23, 1861.

27. Knight, *Handbook for 1864*, p. 226.

28. Pine, *Beyond the West* (Utica, 1871), p. 427.

29. Cronise, *Wealth of California*, p. 590. See also Charles L. Brace *The New West or, California in 1867-68* (New York, 1869), p. 309.

30. *Mercury*, October 15, 1863.

31. Cronise, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

32. *Mercury*, July 30, 1868. Upon the basis of a school census of 1868, the *Mercury* estimated the population of San Jose to be 7,000 in that year.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *San Jose Daily Patriot*, May 21, 1869.

36. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

37. *Mercury*, February 20, 1868.

# A MORMON MISSION TO CALIFORNIA IN 1851

*From the Diary of Parley Parker Pratt*

*Edited by* Reva Holdaway Stanley and Charles L. Camp

(*Concluded*)

*Aug. 11th.* Preached twice in the Theatre, had an attentive audience. In the evening met at Bro. Mory's for prayer and instruction, had a good time. Spent the following week in writing and preaching.

[It was during this period that Parley Pratt became acquainted with Mrs. Elenor McComb McLean (the wife of H. H. McLean, of San Francisco), who fell in love with him and whose love was returned. His affection for her was to be the cause of his death six years later. There is no reference to her in his diary and this is unfortunate, since so little is known of his part in the whole affair. We have only her version, which is to be found in *The Millenial Star*, Vol. 19, p. 417, wherein she refers to his mission in San Francisco and the part it played in both their lives. McLean followed Pratt to Van Buren, Arkansas, in 1857 and there killed him.]

*Aug. 18th.* Preached twice as usual in the Theatre. Had a good meeting in the evening at Bro. Mory's.

*Aug. 19th.* Repaired to the water at the North Beach. Rebaptized William Stout and baptized Wm. J. McGehee, Wm. M. Fuller and Moroni Winner. Confirmed them at my residence the same day. Then took passage about noon on a small sloop, for San Jose, land[ed] at Sun 1½ hours high, distance thirty-five miles. Walked nine miles the same evening. Arrived at Bro. Horner's after dark, much exhausted. Spent two days in visiting with him and others, and then returned. Had a long and tedious passage. Arrived at home on Friday evening very sick with fever and cold.

*Sat'y, 24th.* Confined to the house.

*Sunday 25th.* Preached twice in the Theatre. Met at evening at Bro. Mory's. Several prayed, sung and spake. The Spirit of God was poured out in power in testimony.

The remainder of the week, unwell part of the time, visited some, and [the rest of the sentence is crossed out:] completed the manuscript of a work entitled "A Key to the Science of Universal Theology &c." [published in Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855].

*Sept. 1st* Preached twice in the Theatre, after which Bro. John Murdock Baptized Chas. T. Mansfield. Re-baptized Barton Morey, Hannah Evans,

Emily Atherton. Assembled at evening at the house of Bro. Mory. Administered bread and wine in remembrance of the Lord. Confirmed those baptized as mentioned above, and blessed the following infants: viz:—Quartus S. Sparks, Mary H. Sparks, George Kimball, Joseph Horner, Wm. Horner.

John Murdock was then set apart by the laying on of hands, to preside over a mission to Australia. Chas. Wesley Wandell was then ordained to the office of an Apostle and member of the Seventies, and set apart to accompany Bro. Murdock in said mission. Elder Geo. K. Winner was then unanimously chosen and set apart to preside over the San Francisco Branch, P. P. Pratt being honorably discharged from the duties of the same, with the view of a mission to Chile. Fellowship was then withdrawn from Samuel Brannan by an unanimous vote for a general course of unchristianlike conduct, neglect of duty, and for combining with lawless assemblies to commit murder and other crimes. [A reference to the Vigilance Committee of 1851, of which Brannan had been the foremost organizer and first president.]

Wm. Evans was then called in question for drunkenness, abuse of family, and unchristianlike conduct, and cut off from the church at his own request. I then spoke of my duties to other parts of the Pacific.Was honorably discharged from the Presidency of the Branch, with a vote of thanks: and the following sums were then and afterwards subscribed for my assistance. [There follows a list of moneys given him by John M. Horner, Barton Mory, Rinaldi Mory, Cyrus Ivey, John Philips, Theodore Thorpe, Alphonzo M. Farnsworth, Hazen Kimball and George Serine (?) which amounted to $1435.]

*Sept. 2nd.* Baptized Hazen Kimball, Derinda C. Kimball, Helen Kimball, Francis M. Corwin, Caroline M. Thorpe, Theodore Thorpe. The Last named person, was Baptised and is hereby recorded as—Jeremiah Varney the son of Nicholas and Sarah do. Born in China Maine [?], May 16th 1822.

*Sept'r. 3d.* At my residence, assisted by John Murdock and C. W. Wandell, ordained Wm. McGehee to the office of an Elder.

*Sept. 5th* Sailed for Valperazo, Chile, on Board Barque Henry Kelsey. . . . Accompanied by Elder Rufus Allen, and Phebe, My wife. . . .

[Sixty days it took them to reach Chile and there they remained for four months on a vain mission, since none of them could speak Spanish. On the 30th of November, Phoebe gave birth to a child which lived only a month, and on March 5, 1852, they took passage home on the Ship *Dracut*. The voyage lasted seventy-nine days, and forty of them they fasted. The three missionaries when they returned to San Francisco were in a pitiful condition. The diary entries for May 20-22 copied here are evidently part of a letter to his family which he started on shipboard.]

*Thursday,* [*May*] *20th* [*1852*] This morning, at day break, Land was in sight, in many directions and at dark we cast Anchor in the harbor of S. Francisco.

I landed, and stumbled around till near 10 o clock at night, and at Last found one old Br. who was keeping Batchelors hall, who gave me some supper, and told me that Elizabeth was *alive*, but was out to S. Jose (40 m's) and that the steamer which run there, had just ceased its trips the day before. So there would be only now and then a chance conveyance, by Sail Boat, and that no news had been Rec'd from you or the valley since Sept.

I felt heart sick, but retired at midnight to my lone bed, and tossed with a fever till morning, without an instant of sleep or rest. The next day at evening P[hoebe], Br. Allen and the Baggage landed. On seeing others of the friends I learned that E[lizabeth] had Rec'd a letter from you dated Nov, But I have not yet seen *it* or *her*. O Patience! What Continual drafts are made upon thee! . . .

*Satterday, May 22d* I have not yet had time to go to the Post Office, but shall go this morning. I can make no calculations what we will do next.

After being 79 days on the water, and fasting 40 days we are so poor and thin; and to weak and weary to work much. And we are out of funds. While Butter is one dollar per pound, and other things in proportion. Certain it is we cannot return verry soon to the valley without a wonderful opening, for oxen are *four hundred dollars* per yoke, and other animals in proportion. Phebe is quite sick, But sais: "tell them she is a *live* and *well*." She sends her love to you all, "the *very best*," sais she, and would gladly have writen. She has a Washing on hands for 12 weeks past.

Excuse this hasty close, and believe me *as ever yours, for ever and ever,*
My verry Warmest Love to *all* and *each*. P. P. Pratt.

*Saturday, May 22d*—visited San José valley—found my wife Eliz in bad health, & received letters from home.

| | $ Cts | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| H. Davison | 20.00 | Alfonzo Farnsworth | 23.75 |
| Theodore Thorp | 50.00 | Horrace Skinner one waggon | 70.00 |
| Mary Hamilton | 5.00 | G. S. Sparkes | 90.00 |
| Mrs. Corwin [Sam Brannan's mother-in-law] | 3.00 | Barton Mory | 5.00 |
| John Horner | 100.00 | Thomas Thompkins | 50.00 |
| for Printing fund | 150.00 | Isaac Goodwin | 50.00 |
| Thos. S. Williams | 50.00 | Joseph Nicholds | 50.00 |
| Harvy Green | 5.00 | Zecheriah Cheney | 25.00 |
| Geo. G Snider | 5.00 | Isaac R Emick | 25.00 |
| Josiah Arnold | 16.00 | Jones Dyer | 10.00 |
| Mrs Holenleek | 5.00 | Wm. Fuller | 10.00 |
| Mrs Corwin | 8.00 | Coonrad Neil a mule | 75.00 |
| John Philips | 50.00 | Daniel Starkes | 175.00 |
| Horrace Skinner | 23.75 | Cyrus Ivey | 100.00 |
| | | G Kittleman | 10.00 |

The foregoing Sums were contributed, to aid me in my mission, or, for my journey home, being given at various times after my arrival from Chile.

My time was devoted to the Ministry in the Churches at San Francisco and San Jose, and in visiting, studying Language, Writing to the other missions, and in preperation for the homeward journey. Until near the end of July. I found the Saints in the above places, possessed of Some faith and kindness, benevolence and Charity. They were also endeavoring to serve the Lord, and to set good examples of Life, and they met often, to worship and Edify each other and as many as came to their meetings. Many attended their meetings and Listened with interest, and Some were baptised and added to the Church.

I urged the principles of the Gathering, with all the energy of the Gift of God within me, but all seemingly almost in vain. The World and the Gain thereof Seemed to have a Strong hold and influence over them. After a trial for months, I only obtained three men to go with me for Deseret, besides Br. Allen and my self. These were Wm. Follett, Thomas Dual and Elisha Hyatt with these I started on the Steamer Sea Bird, about the Last of July.

We Landed in S. Padro after 3 days, and on the 14th day of August we arrived all safe in San barnidino Where we ware kindly received by Br A Liman and the Saints in general whom we found well and prosperous. We Camped Near Sister Riches, and were entertained by them very hospatably.

*Sunday 15th* Met with the saints for worship and preached to them, it was a meeting full of interest, well attended by Both sexes, good Singing good instructions, the Sacrament, and in the afternoon a school.

Their Meeting house is Large and commodious and is used for schools every day.

*Wennesday 18th* Br Allen having arrived, I called a meeting as follows.

*Aug. 17* 10 A.m. San Bernardino. The following persons met at the office for the purpose of Organising a company for a journey to Deseret. P. P. Pratt, Elisha Hyatt, Rufus Allen, Thos. Dowell, Wm. T. Follett, Clark Ames. Present A Liman and R. R. Hopkins. I arose, and made the following Remarks, which by my Request were written by Br. Hopkins.

I wish to make a few remarks in order that we may come to a more full understanding of the subject before us. On my return to S. Francisco from Chile, I spent several months in imparting instructions and in preparations to return home. I was compelled from necessity to ask some of the Saints, to accompany me home, as emagrants to Deseret, as I could not go without a guard.

After months of Labour and diligence I obtained three, besides R. Allen, who is always with me. These, viz. Elisha Hyatt, Wm. Follett and Thomas Dowell, Agreed to accompany me. The Holy Spirit Witnessing of this duty, and opening Br. Hyatts way according to my words in a remarkable manner. We have come thus far and have obtained to the number of Six persons Who have now met for the more perfect understanding of the same, and to Organize for the desart.

I wish the Brethren to perfectly understand that I am the head of this com[pany], that I will Lead it as God Shall Lead me. I will give the necessary instructions from time to time Concerning the road, the heat, the cold, drouth, water, feed, dangers, Indians, time of Starting, Circumstances, prospects, Guarding, etc. etc.

I shall know by the power of the Holy Ghost, through the prayer of faith, being upheld by my Brethren, of all things pertaining to our safety and prosperity. If I wish any instructions I will ask of the Lord and if any Council, Brs. A. Lyman and C. C. Rich will be my Councilors when present, and in their absence, Br. R. Allen who has been with me in all my travels.

I have made these remarks because of a certain Spirit and certain remarks manifested by Br. Hyatt since his arrival here.

It appears much has been said to him, Concerning the road, Weather, Indians, dangers and discouragements thereoff, by those not appointed to Council, by which means he has seemed to waver in his faith and Confidence in me as a Leader, and in the journey. When we want information from Such men we will ask their Council.

Br. Hyatt was neither Chosen nor set apart to settle in S. Burnideno But to accompany me to the vallies of the Mts.

In doing this in all Confidence and faith he will be blessed and retain the Spirit of the Lord. And all those appointed to the Same Mission. In doing otherwise they will hearken to a wrong Spirit and fall into darkness and temptation, as it will be breaking a Covenent on which depends my Life and interests and that of others to a great extent. We haveing allready expended much time and means to come thus far in good faith Relying upon each other's Protection.

But notwithstanding I have said these things I do not wish any man to go with me who is afraid to risk his Life in the Councils of his Brethren the Twelve, or either of them. No man who has put his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the Kingdom of God. If I am upheld by the prayer of faith I shall have wisdom and Knowledge by the Holy Ghost, by the mutual Council of my Brethren of the Twelve, whether to tarry, and go with them, or go Sooner. By this wisdom we Shall be guided in safety, and protected in Life and property, whether many or few, and we shall suffer no more than is wisdom in God. Amen.

I now Call upon my brethren individually whose names are above writen to express their feelings as fully and frankly as I have done, on the subject for which we have met. And if they see proper to go with me, uphold me by their Prayers, and hearken to my Council. Well. But, if on the other hand they have not courage and faith to undertake the Journey with me for their guide let them say it now or ever after hold their peace on the Subject and harken to my Councils. However, if any of these should so far falter in their faith as to break their covenants or give heed to the gainsayings of men they can no longer have my fellowship or blessings.

Br Amaca Lymen then Spoke at Length on the same Subject and to the same import.

Br Hyatt Still Spoke in an unbelieving Spirit and manifested fears of being Led into danger, or rather Showed a determination not to be led at all. He said he would not go into danger for any man.

The Other 4 Brethren Manifested a willingness to be Led, and a determination to go with me and hearken to my Councils.

We adjourned, with instructions to Continue our preperations.

Soon after this Br Allen Arrived from S. Francisco, all well and willing to go with me.

On the 20th Br C. C. Rich arrived in good health, from G.S.L. City, with 17 men, Making the Journey in 22 days without Loss or accident haveing six waggons. Reports well of the Grass and Water, tells of much Rain on the desarts and in Deseret. Brings good news of all things there and Letters from my family Who were all alive and well.

*Sunday 22d* had a Joyful meeting with Br A Lyman and C. C. Rich and the Church. After meeting we three of the 12 met and appointed Certain young men to Study the Spanish Language with a view to a mission hereafter, and Br Stout to teach a Class in Spanish in this place, to Consist of such young men as we have now, or may hearafter select.

The following additional sums for the Mission Came To hand by Br Allen: Levi Rungan 10.00, Moreland Allen 5.00, Johnathan Brown 5.00, Nathaniel Fairbanks 10.00, John Calgrove 5.00, Silas Higins 5.00, Lysander Wadsworth[?] 5.00.

*S. Burnardino Sept 4th* Atended a Harvest feast in the Bowery or Meeting house. The entire people made this feast, and assembled to enjoy it. The Room was highly and tastfully ornimented, and set off with evergreens, specimens of Grains, vegitables etc. While above the Stand was written in Large Letters

HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

Meeting opened by prayer and singing and a few Remarks from myself and others, after which the entire day and evening was spent in feasting dancing etc. Every variety almost which the earth produces, or Skill could prepare, was spread out in profusion, and partaken of by all citizens, Strangers, Spaniards or Indians, with that freedom and good order which is characterestic [of] the Saints. The dances were conducted with decorum and propriety, Old and young, Married and Single, Grandsire and child all mingling in the dance So far as they Chose with out a Jaring Spirit to Mar their peace.

An address from A. Liman and a few words from C C Rich and myself, and a prayer and benediction closed, at about 9 o Clock P.M. one of the most interesting assemblies ever witnessed in this age.

*Sunday 5th Sept.* Met with the Saints in the bowery. Preached to them and

partook of the Sacrament and enjoyed ourselves well. Met with C C Rich and A. Lyman and others at evening for Prayer.

*Monday 6th* met the Saints in conferance, Preached and Listened to Others, had a good conference.

*Wennesday 8th* attended a feast at Br Harrises with the others of the quorum, Preached and blessed some Children.

*friday 10th* Atended another feast at Br. Fabens, with the 2 others of the quorum and Blessed some children and taught the company.

*Sunday 12th* Met with the Saints in the Bowery, preached, and at evening attended a feast at Br Carters and Blessed his children.

*Monday 13 Sept, 1852.* This day was appointed for our Company to Start for home, but we ware detained by Br Hyatt who could not find his best mule. Several men volunteered to hunt for him but after several hours returned unsuccessful.

*Tuesday 14th* All being ready, we took leave of the Saints in S. Burnidino and commenced our Journey at 9 O Clock A.M. Brs. Rich and Liman and Others accompanied us a few Miles. And Ox teams and teamsters accompanied us for three days to hall us over the Cajon pass: Where we took Leave of them. And at evening Organized Our Com'y as follows.

| | |
|---|---|
| P. P. Pratt and 2 wives | Andrew Cahoon [Calhoun] and wife |
| Phebe and Elizebeth. | Elisha Hyatt and wife and child. |
| Rufus Allen | Thos Dowel |
| Wm. Follett | John Hyatt |
| Clark Ames | John Green |
| Samuel Goald | Geo Clark. |

John Green was appointed Captain of the guard. In all 11 men, 4 women, 1 child, 5 horses, 28 mules 4 Waggons 1 dog, 11 guns, 4 6-shuters, 1 5-Shot, and 5 Other Pistols. With Plenty of Ammunition.

We were Soon Joined by 5 Spanyards who had near 40 Anamals Mostly horses. Who accompanied us for some hundreds of miles, and Joined us in Guarding etc. Their Animals being poor and unshod we Left them on the Rio Virgin. We met a Company of 24 emigrants near the Salt Spring. I bought a Small waggon and harness of them.

On the Muddy our Camp was thronged with near 60 Indians, naked and bringing green Corn Mellons and dressed Skins for sale for Clothing. They were all good natured and glad to see us. Some of them accompanied us 25 m.s. held our horses Guns etc. and assisted us up the hills. They Brought much more Corn for sale than we purchased.

After 20 days we all arrived in safety to the St. Clara about 100 m.s. from the settlements in Iron County. Here John Green, Geo Clark, Elisha Hyatt,

John Hyatt and Thos. Dowell Left us with out Leave or Council, or provication or Good bye, and went a head.

Before this, on the R. Virgin we mett 2 Large Companies of Emigrants for Cal, Mostly with Ox teams.

*Thursday Oct. 7th* All arrived in Safety in the settlements, in Iron Co. Utah, and were Kindly Recived and entertained by the Saints. I Called on Sister Robison in the twilight of evening, and asked for the dinner which I had spoken for 1½ years before. We were Kindly Received by her and J. D. Lea and Others. Tarr[i]ed 3 days in Parrawan fort, Preached to the Saints.

[OTHER UNDATED ENTRIES]

Subscriptions for the Deseret News for San Francisco, California.

| | |
|---|---|
| H. Davison | $5.00 |
| Dwight Eveleth | 5.00 |
| Henry Christie | 5.00 |
| Joseph Nichols | |
| Union P. O. Sante Clara Co. | 5.00 |
| Horace A. Skinner | 5.00 |
| John M. Horner | 5.00 |
| Barton Morey [Mowry] | 5.00 |
| Cyrus Ivey | 5.00 |
| Zecheriah Cheeney | |
| San Francisco | 5.00 |
| Isaac Goodwin | |
| San Bernardino | 5.00 |
| Capt. Edward A. King | |
| S. Francisco, Cal. | 5.00 |

Isaac Goodwin of San Jose, Cal, paid to P. P. Pratt one hundred dollars for tything, July 22, 1852.

Rec'd of Br. Jackson for his wife, to the care of Br Dibble at Sessions 10 m.s. from S. L. City, $50.00.

John. M. Horner, of Union City, SanteClara Co., Cal. putt into my hands, July 22, 1852 a certain note showing two thousand dollars principle, and some interest then due from Amasa Liman and C. C. Rich to said Horner, and which said Horner wished to apply as tything. Said note was by me delivered to C. C. Rich, to be credited to said Horner as tything on the Books at San Bernidino and accounted for to the First Presidency at G.S. Lake City. Utah Terr.

[Then follows a list of donations made to P. P. Pratt, Pacific Mission, dated Feb. 25, 1851 and made at Great Salt Lake City.]

[Following is a list of the people who came on the Brooklyn with Samuel Brannan and who fell away from the Church and were rebaptized by Parley in 1851 and 1852.]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Geo. K. Winner | John Phillips | Jacob Hayes | Richard Knowles |
| Hannah Winner | Ruth Mowry | Rinaldo Mowry | Sarah Knowles |
| Quartus Sparks | Miron Warner | Emma Jane Winner | William Stout |
| Mary Sparks | Sarah Warner | Moroni Winner | Barton Mowry |
| Hannah Evans | Emily Atherton | Frances M. Corwin | Elisha Hyatt |

# WESTERN HISTORY*

*A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West**

ADAMS, JAMES TRUSLOW.

The march of democracy, the rise of the Union. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932-1933. 2 vols., xvi+428, xix+438 pp., ills.

ARMER, LAURA ADAMS.

Southwest. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. xiii+224 pp., ills. [The Navajos and their country.]

BOLTON, HERBERT EUGENE.

In the South San Joaquin ahead of Garcés an address delivered before the Kern County Historical Society in May, 1931, . . . and a short reading list on the history of Kern County by John D. Henderson. Bakersfield, California: Kern County Historical Society, May, 1935. [ii]+16 pp. [A reprinting, in pamphlet form, of Dr. Bolton's article which appeared in the California Historical Society *Quarterly* for September, 1931, with the addition of Mr. Henderson's list.]

ERSKINE, GLADYS SHAW.

Broncho Charlie, a saga of the saddle. The life story of Broncho Charlie Miller the last of the Pony Express riders. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1934. xiv+316 pp., ills. [Apparently Broncho Charlie has treated Miss Erskine to some tall stories which she has recorded in his own picturesque language. He claims to have ridden the Pony Express out of Sacramento at the age of eleven!, fought Indians at Placerville!, and in Nevada in the early 60's!, met Jim Bridger, whom he calls a "little fellow," and entered generally into the vivid romance of the West.]

FAUNCE, HILDA.

Desert wife. Boston: Little Brown, 1934. 305 pp., ills. [Reminiscences of the wife of a trader to the Navajos.]

GILLMOR, FRANCES, and WETHERILL, LOUISA WADE.

Traders to the Navajos. The story of the Wetherills of Kayenta. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934. 265 pp., ills. [Exceptionally fine description of the Navajos and their *patrones*, Hosteen John and Louisa Wetherill.]

HAMMOND, JOHN HAYS.

The Autobiography of John Hays Hammond. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935. 2 vols., ills. 8vo. [Son of a '49er and nephew of Col. Jack Hays. The first chapters contain interesting California reminiscences.]

HARDING, S. T.

Changes in lake levels in Great Basin Area. Three hundred years of record studied to determine trend in available water supply. *Civil Engineering*, Vol. 5, Feb. 1935, pp. 87-90, ills. [Particularly a study of trees and stumps near shore lines of Tahoe, Eagle Lake, Mono Lake; and analysis of pioneer records. Trees killed at Eagle Lake during the rise from 1912-14 were from 83 to 150 years old. This, together with pioneer records, indicates a long dry period from 1750 to 1850 and a general rise in the lake level since then.]

JORALEMON, IRA B.

Romantic copper its lure and lore. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1934. vii+294 pp. [Utah, Arizona, Montana—stories of the big mines.]

LEH, LEONARD L.

The Shaman in aboriginal North American society. *The University of Colorado Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4, August, 1934, pp. 199-263.

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*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.
—CHARLES L. CAMP.

LYNCH, ALICE CLARE.

The Kennedy Clan and Tierra Redonda. [San Francisco: Marnell & Company], 1935. 264 pp., ills. [The Kennedys came to San Francisco in the early 50's. Alice Kennedy married James Lynch, and in 1860 they went to live on a ranch at Tierra Redonda, San Luis Obispo County, where they made their home for fifty years. The book was written by their daughter for members of the family.]

MULFORD, PRENTICE.

Prentice Mulford's California sketches. Edited, with an introduction, by Franklin Walker. [San Francisco] Printed for The Book Club of California by John Henry Nash, 1935.

PORTER, RUFUS.

Aerial navigation, the practicability of traveling pleasantly and safely from New York to California in three days. With an introduction by Lieutenant-Commander H. V. Wiley, U.S.N. of the U.S.S. Macon. Illustrated with three colored lithographs issued as burlesques in 1849 by N. Currier and A. Donnelly. San Francisco: Printed by Lawton R. Kennedy, 1935. [3]+iii+21+[2]pp. ["For the amusement of my friends" Lawton Kennedy has reprinted 200 copies of a pamphlet published in New-York in 1849.]

RAK, MARY KIDDER.

A cowman's wife. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934. vi+202 pp., ills. [The home ranch is in Rucker Canyon, Chiricahua Mountains, Arizona.]

WALKER, BEN RANDAL.

Fresno: 1872-1885, a municipality in the making. Fresno, California, 1934. Vol. 1, No. 2, Fresno County Historical Society Publications. 15 pp.

WOON, BASIL.

San Francisco and the Golden Empire. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 1935. 407 pp. (incl. index), 6 maps, 12 ills.

ARIZONA HISTORICAL REVIEW.

January, 1935, contains: "A Spanish expedition into the Arizona Apachería," by Carl Sauer; "Arizona's frontier press," by Estelle Lutrell; "The Spanish Missions of the Southwest," by Rufus Kay Wyllys; "The correlation of State and National history," by Asa E. Martin; "Some unpublished history of the Southwest," by Mrs. Granville Oury. April, 1935, contains: "From variety theater to coffee shoppe [at Tombstone]," by C. E. Willson; "Recollections of early day mining in Arizona," by Arthur L. Walker; "Governor Hunt—a personal appreciation," by Samuel L. Pattee; "The Black Canyon stage," by Will C. Barnes; "With Crawford in Mexico," by Robert Hanna; "As told by the pioneers," reminiscences of Mrs. Samuel Hughes, Isaac Goldberg, and Charles M. Clark.

GRIZZLY BEAR.

May, 1935, contains: "Vallejo, the 'city of cash'"; "'Isla de la Yegua'—Mare Island"; "California fifty years ago," compiled by Thomas R. Jones, and other articles.

COLORADO MAGAZINE.

March, 1935, contains: "The Voorhees diary of the Lawrence party's trip to Pike's Peak, 1858," ed. by LeRoy R. Hafen; "Two rock pictures and their probable connection with the 'Pied Piper' myth of the Indians," by Albert B. Reagan, and other articles.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

April, 1935, contains: "Mark Twain, America's most widely read author," by Floyd C. Shoemaker; "Mark Twain Centennial, 1835-1935," by Roy T. King, and other articles.

New Mexico Historical Review.

January, 1935, contains: "Pueblo names in the Oñate documents," by F. W. Hodge; "Albuquerque and Galisteo," by Lansing B. Bloom; "Dedication of the Kearny monument," by Dr. H. C. Gossard, and other articles. April, 1935, contains: "The lineage of Don Diego de Vargas," by J. M. Espinosa; "Forts Robidoux and Kit Carson," by A. B. Reagan; "Old roads and new highways," by Maud D. Sullivan, and other articles.

Oregon Historical Quarterly.

March, 1935, contains: "Richard ('Captain Johnny') Grant," by T. C. Elliott; "Military history of Oregon, 1849-59," by Robert C. Clark; "Hudson's Bay Company claims, 1846-69," by Ralph R. Martig; "A document of mission history," 1833-43," by Robert M. Gatke; "Members of first Wyeth expedition," by Philip H. Overmeyer; "The grave of Madame Dorion," by T. C. Elliott.

Pacific Historical Review.

March, 1935, contains: "The North Pacific sealing convention of 1911," by Thomas A. Bailey; "Great Britain, the United States, and Hawaiian independence, 1850-1855," by Richard W. Van Alstyne; "The Magdalena bubble," by Ruth Elizabeth Kearney; "The failure of Polk's Mexican War intrigue of 1845," by Richard R. Stenberg; "Pacific history in Spanish American Historical Reviews, 1932-34," by Roland D. Hussey.

Sierra Club Bulletin.

February, 1935, contains: "Snow-shoe Thompson," by Dan De Quille; "From Yosemite to Kings River Canyon, 1896," by Walter A. Starr (largely from the diary of Allen L. Chickering); "The story of Mount Whitney" (Part II), by Francis P. Farquhar.

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# BOOK REVIEW

NEU-HELVETIEN. Lebenserinnerungen des Generals Johann August Sutter. Nach den handschriften erzählt von Erwin Gustav Gudde. Verlag Huber & Co., Frauenfeld und Leipzig, 1934. 122 pp., 35 ills., 2 maps.

Professor Gudde is known for his studies of early California history; he has already treated Sutter in "The Source of the Sutter Myth" which appeared in this *Quarterly* (December, 1930). In the present volume he has made available for the reader of German the self-told story of the great colonizer.

With the exception of introductory and concluding chapters which Professor Gudde has written, the book consists chiefly of his translation into German of the account of Sutter's life which the general himself dictated for H. H. Bancroft in 1876. No attempt has been made to reproduce the reminiscences *verbatim*. Numerous obvious mistakes have been corrected; omissions and rearrangements have improved the narrative; chapter headings have been inserted. Material has also been added from printed volumes and from manuscripts in the Bancroft Library.

The resulting work is essentially an interesting life of Sutter, told mostly in his own words but interpreted with full knowledge based upon modern historical research. It might be called a scholarly reconstruction of what Sutter's autobiography might have been had he prepared it for publication instead of dictating it in the form of rambling notes. Superficially, the book may give a slight impression of a semi-fictional bography,

but this impression is completely removed by the wholly frank and unassuming statemen of sources and methods included in an appendix. Two maps and thirty-five pictures, some of them rare and unusual, make the volume still further attractive and valuable.

Much that is mythical about Sutter has been foisted upon the European, particularly the German, reader. It is now fortunate that a conscientious and adept scholar has at last given to the German-reading public an account at once literary and of great historical interest. We can only regret that an English translation did not appear simultaneously.

Publication of the present work was originally undertaken by a German firm two years ago. Political changes intervened, and the volume now finally appears with a Swiss imprint—not inappropriately, we must allow, in view of Sutter's own nationality.

GEORGE R. STEWART, JR.

# MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

ON TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1935, forty-eight members and guests met for luncheon at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, after which the President, Mr. Chickering, introduced Mr. Julian Dana, author of *Sutter of California,* recently published by the Press of the Pioneers.

Mr. Dana gave an interesting account of the manner in which he had gathered the great volume of material that went into the making of his book. His researches on Sutter's early life in Switzerland and Germany had dispelled from his mind the impression that the future Lord of New Helvetia had left Europe under a cloud. This conclusion of Mr. Dana's is quite contrary, however, to that arrived at by Dr. Zollinger in the article printed in the March *Quarterly.* Several amusing anecdotes about the trials and joys of authorship added zest to a very enjoyable talk. GEORGE EZRA DANE.

The Society held a luncheon meeting on Tuesday, April 16, 1935, at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel. Mr. Charles Caldwell Dobie was the speaker and he chose as his subject, "San Francisco One Hundred Years Ago," in commemoration of the founding of Yerba Buena by Captain William A. Richardson in 1835. After commenting on this event, which was in fact the inception of the commercial city of San Francisco, Mr. Dobie reminded the audience that the same year marked the establishment of local civil government in the San Francisco district. An *ayuntamiento* was elected and installed in 1835 and Francisco de Haro was made alcalde. Therefore, in a double sense, commercially and politically, San Francisco as we know it can refer to 1835 as a starting point. Mr. Dobie developed this thesis and related various anecdotes and described the appearance of the site of Yerba Buena one hundred years ago. There were sixty-eight members and guests present.

On Tuesday, May 21, 1935, the Society held a luncheon meeting at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel. Dr. Oscar Osburn Winther addressed the meeting on "Stage Coach Days in California." He described the vehicles in use on stage

routes at the middle of the last century and noted the changes and improvements brought about in meeting the exigencies of California travel. It was possible with the stage of that day to meet a large part of the demand for transportation over the diversified area of the State that was not served by water transportation. As a means of development of the State's resources, the stage was a vital factor in the Pioneer Era. Dr. Winther also traced the local history of the development of routes, advertising methods and extent of service. He told interesting stories of the individuals who were identified with the industry and gave, in brief compass, a very complete picture of the industry. There were 35 members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

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# NEW MEMBERS

PATRON

| *Name* | *Address* | *Proposed by* |
|---|---|---|
| *Esberg, Milton H. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Flood, James | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| *Wiltsee, Ernest A. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |

ACTIVE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Anderson, Frank B. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Baker, Wakefield | San Francisco | Mr. Stuart L. Rawlings |
| Cameron, George T. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Clifford, Curtis T. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Cookson, Howard A. | San Francisco | A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D. |
| Cosgrave, Judge George | Los Angeles | Miss Dorothy Huggins |
| Cutler, Leland W. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Deering, Frank P. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Doyle, Mrs. G. P. | Berkeley | Mr. George E. Dane |
| Fair, Harry H. | Piedmont | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Fortmann, Henry F. | San Francisco | Miss Dorothy Huggins |
| Fuller, W. P., Jr. | San Francisco | Mr. Stuart L. Rawlings |
| Gelber, Leon | San Francisco | Mr. Douglas S. Watson |
| Gerstle, Mark L. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Goodfellow, Hugh | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Haas, Walter A. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Hale, Prentis Cobb | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Hanna, R. W. | San Francisco | Mr. Stuart L. Rawlings |
| Hart, Julien | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Heller, Edward G. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Heller, Walter S. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |

*Transferred from active to patron membership.

| *Name* | *Address* | *Proposed by* |
|---|---|---|
| Hellman, Mrs. I. W. | San Francisco | Mrs. Sidney M. Ehrman |
| Hill, Robert E. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Hooper, Arthur W. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Hopkins, Timothy | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| King, Arthur D. | Hillsborough | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Kinney, Ralph W. | Piedmont | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Lapham, Roger D. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Levison, J. B. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Levison, Mrs. J. B. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Lichtenstein, Joy | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
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| Madison, Frank D. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Magnin, Grover A. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Mailliard, J. W., Jr. | San Francisco | Mr. Stuart L. Rawlings |
| Makinson, Frank R., M.D. | Piedmont | Miss Dorothy Huggins |
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| Olney, Warren, Jr. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Page, Charles R. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Pflueger, Timothy L. | San Francisco | Mr. E. F. O'Day |
| Price, A. H. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Robbins, Lloyd M. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Schwabacher, A. E. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Sloss, Joseph | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Sloss, Leon, Jr. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Sperisen, Albert | San Francisco | Mr. Douglas S. Watson |
| Starr, Walter A. | San Francisco | Mr. Allen L. Chickering |
| Sullivan, Frank E. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Sutro, Oscar | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Swinerton, Alfred | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Taylor, Fletcher B., M.D. | Oakland | Mr. George E. Dane |
| Volkmann, George F. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Volkmann, W. G. | San Francisco | Mr. Stuart L. Rawlings |
| Wilhoit, Arthur | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Winans, Claude O. | Saratoga | Miss Dorothy Huggins |
| Witter, Dean | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Woods, William W. | San Francisco | Mr. E. A. Wiltsee |
| Zimmermann, Mrs. W. F. C. | San Francisco | A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D. |

†Reinstated.

# GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

March 1, to May 31, 1935

## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—*"One of America's most interesting colleges,"* Mills College, 1935; Mulford, Prentice, *California sketches*, S. F., Book Club, 1935; Older, Fremont, *My own story*, N. Y., 1926; Stratton, R. B., *Life among the Indians or Captivity of the Oatman girls*, S. F., Grabhorn, 1935.

From CALIFORNIA STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION—*A partial list of organizations in California interested in California History*, California State Historical Association, 1933-34 [mimeographed].

From MR. ROBERT EDGERTON — Walker, Ben Randal, *Fresno: 1872-1885*, Fresno County Historical Society, 1934.

From MISS STELLA HUNTINGTON—Jordan, David Starr, *The Days of a Man*, Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y., 1922, 2 vols.

From MR. LAWTON R. KENNEDY—Porter, Rufus, *Aerial navigation, the practicability of traveling pleasantly and safely from New York to California in three days*, S. F., Lawton R. Kennedy, 1935 (reprint of an 1849 pamphlet).

From KERN COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Bolton, Herbert E., *In the South San Joaquin ahead of Garcés*, Bakersfield, 1935.

From MISS ALICE C. LYNCH—*The Kennedy clan and Tierra Redonda* [S. F., 1935].

From MISS JUANITA MILLER—Miller, Joaquin, *Seven songs*. Music by Juanita Miller, copyright 1935.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Davis, Will. B., *Experiences and observations of an American consular officer during the recent Mexican revolutions*, published by the author, 1920; Knights, Captain Arthur E., *Notes by the way in a sailor's life*, S. F., 1905; McAdie, Alexander, *The clouds and fogs of San Francisco*, S. F., 1912; Ruschenberger, W. S. W., *Three years in the Pacific . . .* Philadelphia, 1834; Sitgreaves, Capt. L., *Report of an expedition down the Zuni and Colorado rivers*, Washington, 1854; Wagner, Henry R., *Joaquin García Icazbalceta*, Worcester, Mass., American Antiquarian Society, 1935.

From REV. HENRY WOODS—Woods, Henry, *To Virgil on his twentieth centenary*, University of Santa Clara, 1935.

## PICTURES

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—"Winter—Yosemite," a large framed photograph by Ansel E. Adams; also photographs of the late Prof. Henry Meade Bland and M. M. O'Shaughnessy.

From MR. M. HALL McALLISTER—Photograph of officers and cadets in review at St. Augustine's College, Benicia, 1875, and a photograph of the four McAllister boys in their cadet uniforms.

From MR. G. S. SMITH—Photograph of Reuben Morton, Superintendent of the Geary Street Railway.

From MRS. WILLIAM D. TILLINGHAST—Photographic copies of three early views of San Francisco.

From MRS. EUSINA TOMPKINS—"Those Damnedest Finest Ruins": poem by Lawrence W. Harris and photograph of ruins of San Francisco fire of 1906 on calendar published by James H. Barry Company, 1908 (framed).

From MRS. FRANCES WILLIAMS—65 photographs of California "ghost towns."

From the MISSES LOTTIE and MAUDE WOODS—47 stereoscopic views of California, Utah, Pacific Railroad, and other scenes; also 2 photographs of Mrs. M. E. Edmonds (wife of Judge Edmonds) and 1 of their daughter Annie.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. FRED J. BOWLEN—Piece of leather fire hose used by S. F. Volunteer Fire Department.

From MR. M. HALL McALLISTER—Scrapbook of clippings about Ward McAllister (1827-1895) compiled by Ward McAllister, Jr.

LOANS

From JOHN A. HOOPER COMPANY—Insurance policy of John A. Hooper, December 9, 1867.

From SAN FRANCISCO FIRE DEPARTMENT HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Photograph of F. C. G. Meyer, Chief of Marysville Fire Department, 1894-1898.

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## In Memoriam

### JOHN C. CEBRIAN

### 1848-1935

JOHN C. CEBRIAN, a member of the Society, died on February 20, 1935, in Madrid, Spain, where he was born on August 24, 1848.

After his graduation in 1869 from the Academia de Ingenieros at Guadalajara, in the province of Toledo, Spain, with the rank of captain, he came to California in 1870, where he found employment in the U. S. Lighthouse Department under the late Col. John Williamson, and later joined the engineering staff of the Central Pacific Railroad.

Mr. Cebrian became an American citizen and established himself as an architect and engineer in San Francisco in 1875. In the late 70's he married Miss Maria J. de Laveaga. Seven children survive: Mrs. R. de Caleya and Mrs. M. Sanz, of Madrid, Spain, Mrs. St. John E. McCormick of San Francisco, Mrs. E. A. Koch, of San Jose, and Edward, Louis and Ralph Cebrian, of San Francisco.

As a citizen of California, Mr. Cebrian entered enthusiastically into its development, taking an active part in furthering the expansion of the telephone, gas, electric and oil industries. He was instrumental in building San Francisco's first Spanish church and assembled and donated large and valuable collections of Spanish books to the libraries of the University of California, Stanford University, the San Francisco Public Library, the Reyerson and Burnham Library of Chicago, and other similar institutions. Jointly with the late E. J. Molera, he presented to San Francisco the fine Cervantes monument which was erected in Golden Gate Park.

Few San Franciscans have taken as prominent a part in the city's civic life as did John C. Cebrian. Though a Spaniard by birth, he was proud of his adopted country, especially of the city he called home. His membership in learned societies both at home and abroad makes a formidable list. Former

King Alfonso XIII bestowed upon him the Grand Cross of Isabella la Catolica in 1917, and the Grand Cross of Alfonso XII in 1921, both decorations carrying with them the order of knighthood.

Perhaps the happiest day in John C. Cebrian's life was that upon which, as official representative of San Francisco by appointment of Mayor Rossi, he accepted the key of Junipero Serra's birthplace at Petra, Mallorca, May 12, 1932, when the old home of the Founder of the California Missions was made a gift to the California municipality. Mr. Cebrian's lifelong endeavor was to foster a finer understanding between the land of his birth and that of his adoption. By his death San Francisco lost one of its outstanding citizens.

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## THOMAS P. BURNS

### 1856-1935

Tom Burns, as he was known by a host of friends, was born on September 30, 1856, near the corner of Bush and Kearny streets, San Francisco, the son of Patrick and Mary Burns, both pioneers. As a lad he attended Old St. Mary's school and later the Lincoln Grammar School from which he was graduated at the age of 14. After a year's preparation at a business college he entered the employ of A. S. Hallidie, wire rope and cable manufacturer and the originator of the Clay Street cable railway, the first in operation anywhere. The initial trip, on which Mr. Burns was a passenger, took place on August 1, 1873. When 18 years of age, Mr. Burns on account of failing health took a position as clerk and bookkeeper under Professor Davidson of the U. S. Geodetic survey, and for two years was engaged in the survey of the Sierra Nevada. Following this he spent two years in Oregon with the Oswego Iron Works, and upon his return to San Francisco became clerk of the Probate Court under Judge Coffey. In 1886 he was appointed Cashier of the U. S. Sub-Treasury, which post he occupied for 29 years. January 1, 1895, Mr. Burns married Dr. Maud E. Beardsley, who, with her daughter Mersey by a previous marriage, survive him. In 1915 he was appointed assistant manager of the San Francisco Clearing House, which position he held until his death, May 2, 1935.

Mr. Burns was a recognized authority on handwriting and qualified as an expert of such in many important cases. However, his great interest was in the history of San Francisco to which he devoted all his spare time. His most notable investigation of early day history concerned the location and details of the first house built in Yerba Buena by Captain Richardson, the town's founder. This study he illustrated by maps and drawings. It is hoped that some day it will come into the possession of the Society.

All who know Tom Burns praised him for his sterling character, his unswerving integrity and his loyalty. Both the Society and the city of his birth are losers by his passing.

# PERSONALIA AND MARGINALIA

THE RESPONSE to the offer to print Dr. Charles Francis Griffin's Index to the Annals of San Francisco fell short of the required number; but forty-eight of the one hundred necessary orders have been received. The Publication Committee, therefore, does not feel warranted in going ahead with it at this time unless additional subscriptions totaling fifty-two are received before July 15. The announced price of this proposed publication was $1.25.

In this issue, Dr. Oscar Osburn Winther's "Story of San Jose" is concluded. It was previously announced that this history would be issued at once in book form and therefore subscription blanks will be sent shortly to members, stating the price and particulars of the volume. Dependent upon the number of orders received for the book a final decision will be made. To justify publication of an item of this type a minimum of 125 sales must be assured before actual printing is started.

A serious study of Mexican influence in California immediately prior to American occupation is the theme of Dr. George Tays's forthcoming article based upon hitherto unpublished letters of Andrés Castillero. An amusing and outstanding feature of these letters is the writer's frank appraisal of Alvarado and other prominent Californians of that time. Members will recall the Pio Pico correspondence which Dr. Tays brought to light, the publication of which was concluded in the June, 1934, *Quarterly*. This forthcoming contribution is likewise the result of his research into Mexican archives.

The 1776 Cañizares Map of San Francisco Bay used as an illustration in this issue was furnished through the courtesy of Mr. Henry R. Wagner from his collection. In the June, 1934, *Quarterly* a short article concerning the Cañizares Map of 1781 was printed, illustrated by a reproduction of the map in question. Cañizares, it will be recalled, was the first man to enter San Francisco Bay, which he did in the small boat of the *San Carlos*.

George Rippey Stewart, Jr., whose article on Dumas's *Gil Blas en Californie* appears in this issue, is a native of Sewickley, Pennsylvania, where he was born May 31, 1895. In 1917 he was graduated from Princeton, took his M.A. at the University of California in 1920, and his doctor's degree in English at Columbia in 1922. Dr. Stewart has been an assistant professor of English at the University of California since 1925; prior to that time he had been an instructor both at the University of California and at the University of Michigan. Publications from his pen are: *Modern Metrical Technique*, 1922; *Technique of English Verse*, 1930; *Bret Harte, Argonaut and Exile*, 1931. He is also the editor of the *Stories and Poems of Bret Harte* published by Macmillan in 1928. On May 17, 1924, Dr. Stewart married Miss Theodosia Burton. They have two children: Jane Burton, born September 27, 1925, and John Harris, born August 7, 1928.